

SPECIAL ISSUE

JANUARY 15, 1991 \$4.00

TIME WAR IN THE GULF

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THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE



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WAR IN THE GULF: Desert Storm erupts on a moonless night in a hail of bombs and missiles over Baghdad, shaking the new world order

The battle marches into history on schedule, trampling hopes for a peaceful solution and dragging along a world resigned to the use of force in the name of law-and-order. As planes scramble, sirens wail and the skies catch fire, massed armies—and a global audience—await the aftershocks.

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Week One: for the allies, so far, so good

A high-tech assault pummels Iraq, but Saddam lashes back with missile attacks on Israel.

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Live! From the Middle East

Even the White House is watching TV, CNN in particular, for reports on the fighting.

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Uneasy quiet on the home front

Nervous Americans respond to the battle with pride and anger, protests and prayers.

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A break from the gloom

The markets are bullish, but the U.S. economy, drained by recession, remains at risk.

72



WORLD: Soviet tanks and lies stir old fears

Troops in Lithuania serve warning on the republics to knuckle under, and add *glasnost* to the endangered list. ► Defiant Georgia may be next.

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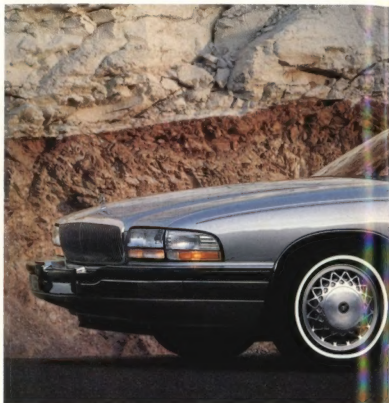


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(*Car and Driver*)

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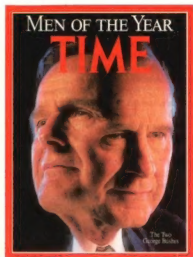
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LETTERS

MEN OF THE YEAR

**"Two heads
are better
than one?"**

*Fred Horning
Somerville, N.J.*



When George Bush was named "Men of the Year" [Jan. 7], it struck me that he really does represent the American public, which has been split in many ways on national issues. Vision is something few possess and fewer act on. President Bush deserves much credit for his global vision. He could yet become a truly great leader.

*Peggy Babcock
Upland, Calif.*

Bush put us where we are now, and we must support him, but he certainly could do a better job both at home and abroad.

*J. Alden Erikson
Gibsonia, Pa.*

One dubious plus and many small minuses. What does that add up to? Zero?

*Greg Sutton
Tucson*

I disagree with your selection. Any one of the four men you portrayed as those who "also made history" would have been a more convincing choice. Bush never came to my mind because forging an anti-Iraq coalition doesn't seem to qualify him under the criteria you have set up. Let's first see if this fragile coalition is able to achieve its supposed ends.

*Wilfried Kuckuk
Bonn*



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EWAPST5

TIME, JANUARY 28, 1991

LETTERS

Perhaps your cover illustrates the reality that the presidency requires two men: one with the diplomacy and clout for foreign affairs and the other with a social conscience and the rapport with Congress to deal effectively with domestic issues.

*Ellen W. Falick
Houston*

This is by far your worst choice as Man of the Year. If it were not for Saddam Hussein's foolish actions, Bush could not have achieved some fine diplomatic moments. Saddam is the man. For Americans, Bush is only half perfect; for most of the world, he is half imperfect; and for neither group can he therefore be Man of the Year.

*Romy Rens Sr.
Curaçao, Netherlands Antilles*

Feeding the Soviet Union

Although I am 13 years old and live a world away from the U.S.S.R., I am concerned about the food shortages there [NATION, Dec. 24]. It's because I was born in Moscow and still have grandparents in the Soviet Union. The rich nations of the world should stop throwing "I-told-you-so's" at the Soviet government and instead send much needed aid to the people whose lives have been ruined by the communist juggernaut. Having an ally instead of an enemy

will promote peace and happiness. With Americans and Soviets on the same side, who knows what can be accomplished?

*Ilya Shapiro
Lindsay, Ont.*

For 72 years the Soviet people and their communist overlords have brought untold misery and suffering upon humanity. Now in the guise of *perestroika*, this "workers' paradise," this "dictatorship of the proletariat," comes begging. Let them starve! We owe them nothing. We need to take care of our own homeless and hungry.

*John J. McDonald
Lavallette, N.J.*

Feeding the people of the Soviet Union this winter may be today's equivalent of the Berlin airlift. If we don't help, we have everything to lose.

*William W. Lyons III
Kearney, Neb.*

In Defense of Affirmative Action

As a black American, I found Charles Krauthammer's piece proposing reparations for American blacks both interesting and wrongheaded [ESSAY, Dec. 31]. Interesting because while Krauthammer accepts the fact of massive injury to blacks by

a legacy of racism in America, he offers the novelty of a reparations policy. Wrong-headed because Krauthammer has a naive understanding of the effect of reparations, and he distorts affirmative-action policies.

A reparations program would result in a cataclysmic cleavage between blacks and whites that the U.S. can ill afford. It would be a one-shot effort at redeeming an evil and massive injury committed by or acquiesced in by governments. Affirmative action, on the other hand, is not mere compensation for injury but something much more. It seeks to assist in deepening the democratization of American life. It is not only for blacks but also works simultaneously for other minorities, the handicapped and especially for women. The benefits gained through affirmative action are not intrinsically different from those that go to veterans or farmers. The logic of American democracy clearly allows affirmative assistance to correct the terrible dislocation of blacks' mobility opportunities across many generations. There is no reason why a black recipient should feel self-doubt about receiving these benefits any more than millions of white veterans and farmers should be hesitant about accepting their benefits.

*Martin Kilson, Professor of Government
Harvard University
Cambridge, Mass.*



What's in a Name?

In 1929 the country went into a depression. In the late 1970s there was another depression, but the politicians labeled it a recession because that sounds less drastic. Now we are in another recession and are scrambling to find a label that doesn't sound as bad as recession [BUSINESS, Jan. 7]. To avoid confusion, perhaps we should refer to the Great Depression of 1929 as the Great Meaningful Downturn.

Michael Gruber
Lake Ariel, Pa.

The Importance of Home

The words on the meaning of home just jumped out of the article [ESSAY, Dec. 24]: If home "does not take shape properly around the child, then his mind will be at least a little homeless all its life." As a counselor working with children who reveal this homelessness of the mind through learning problems, misbehavior and self-hate, I found new hope in the Essay. I shared it with a Vietnam vet whose response was: "At home I felt a sense of being protected. Nothing could happen to me there—no harm would come to me. Even if I was home alone, I still had that feeling."

Allen H. Platt
Philadelphia

LETTERS

In this age of self-inflicted nomadism, through countries and continents, Lance Morrow's Essay on homeness is pertinent and painful. If we view ourselves only as disparate individuals seeking rootless self-realization, home is nowhere. Considering the psychological afflictions and effects of homelessness, I hope that people today will be less self-addicted and understand that the time has come to tend our gardens, even after the expulsion from Eden.

Annie Grill
White Plains, N.Y.

Morrow's touching Essay reminds me of the saying "Home is a place where you don't need a reservation."

Marjorie Wolfe
Svosset, N.Y.

Hands Off Those Drugs

The main reason psychologists should not prescribe drugs is that they have not received systematic instruction in basic and clinical pharmacology, the medical science concerned with drug actions [MEDICINE, Dec. 17]. Without such a background, as well as the study of anatomy, biochemistry and physiology, it is not possible to prescribe drugs safely. Moreover, many psychoactive drugs may have serious adverse effects and require moni-

toring of blood chemistry or other measurements unavailable to psychologists. Appropriate use of drugs requires sophisticated judgment based on training and experience gained in a medical education, not in psychology curriculums.

Thomas F. Burks, President
American Society for Pharmacology and
Experimental Therapeutics
Tucson

No one denies the important role psychologists play in providing mental-health services. However, their role cannot and should not extend to the prescribing of potentially dangerous medications. The education and training of psychologists in no way prepare them for diagnosing medical illness and understanding potentially adverse drug interactions and complications from other illnesses present in the patient.

Elissa P. Benedek, M.D., President
American Psychiatric Association
Washington

Hardly Sainly

Your item reported that as part of the commemoration of the 500th anniversary of Columbus' discovery of America, admirers of Queen Isabella of Spain are pushing for her to become a saint [WORLD, Jan. 7]. You posed the question. Should she? No!



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I N S U R A N C E

LETTERS

She should not. Hers was a reign of injustice, intolerance, fear and horror for hundreds of thousands of Spaniards, especially Jews and Muslims. She re-created the defunct institution of the Inquisition, naming as its head her confessor, the Dominican prior Torquemada. The Inquisition was responsible for the deaths of thousands of Jews, burned alive in infamous autos-da-fé, during her reign. These victims were prosecuted only for their religious practices. Spain was at one time an example of tolerance, where Christians, Muslims and Jews lived in peace and harmony. The Spanish government is now trying to repair the great damage caused by Isabella's decree expelling her loyal Jewish subjects. If the canonization petition succeeds, all the wounds will be reopened.

Jorge A. Romano
Beverly Hills, Calif.

Not Your Best of Best?



There was a fair amount of carping about TIME's list of choices to sum up the "bests" and "mosts" of 1990. Some made sweeping generalizations: Christian S. Anderson

of Baltimore judged "The Best of '90" feature (Dec. 31) "among the most repugnant pieces ever printed in TIME." And there were specific complaints: Vernley R. Rehnstrom of Speedway, Ind., asked, "Who picks the best 10 movies? Those who believe in violence, sadism, perversion?" There was criticism of things we missed: Sharla Johnston of Bay Village, Ohio, was "shocked to find Kevin Costner's Dances with Wolves omitted from the list of the 10 best movies of 1990." And then there was plain relief: Ahmad Husari of Ellicott City, Md., sighed, "If Bart Simpson is typical of the best of 1990, I, for one, am glad the year is over."

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TIME JANUARY 28, 1991

CRITICS' VOICES

By TIME's Reviewers/Compiled by Linda Williams



MUSIC

WHITNEY HOUSTON: I'M YOUR BABY TONIGHT (Arista). Now wait a minute. Before you go dismissing her as a beautiful but soul-less dance-floor diva, check out her way with a ballad like *All the Man That I Need*. She comes within striking distance of classic saloon soul here and proves she's stepping up to fast company.

ALAN FEINBERG: THE AMERICAN ROMANTIC (Argo). This young pianist displays his uncommon grasp of the romantic idiom in these flavorful, virtuosic pieces by U.S. composers Louis Moreau Gottschalk, Amy Beach and Robert Help.



ART

ART WHAT THOU EAT: IMAGES OF FOOD IN AMERICAN ART, New York Historical Society. From Mary Cassatt's 19th century vision of *Five O'Clock Tea* to Andres Serra-

no's 1984 photograph *Meat Weapon*, 70 works offering a rich diet of social history. Through March 22.

NATURE INTO ART: ENGLISH LANDSCAPE WATERCOLORS FROM THE BRITISH MUSEUM, Cleveland Museum of Art. A generous sampling from the B.M.'s great collection, including paintings by Gainsborough, Constable and Turner, as well as such lesser known masters as Thomas Girtin and John Sell Cotman. Through March 10.



TELEVISION

SUPER BOWL (ABC, Jan. 27, 6 p.m. EST). During the commercial breaks, Coke and Pepsi will face off with big-money contests, while those beer bottles clash again in the Bud Bowl. Oh, yes, and there's a football game.

DAVIS RULES (ABC, Jan. 27, approximately 10 p.m. EST). The year's most coveted time period—the one following the *Super Bowl*—goes to this new sitcom starring Jonathan Winters as the wacky father of a grammar school principal (Randy Quaid).

BIRD LIVES AGAIN!

THE COMPLETE DEAN BENEDETTI RECORDINGS OF CHARLIE PARKER (Mosaic). Alto saxophonist Charlie Parker almost single-handedly changed the course of jazz history with his lightning-fingered improvisations, rhythmic subtleties and harmonic genius—not to mention the fast-living, drug-shooting life-style that led to his death at 34 and was, unfortunately, widely imitated by his contemporaries. One such was Dean Benedetti, a West Coast jazzman who copied Bird in every way he could, down to and including his own premature death at 34. But Benedetti left behind an extraordinary legacy: a cache of impromptu recordings that he had made of Parker's live performances in 1947-48. Now this long-lost treasure has been rediscovered and issued as a 10-1, P or seven-CD boxed set. Though the nine hours of music—consisting mostly of disembodied Parker solos—can be taxing on the casual listener, the set uniquely documents one of Bird's most fertile periods and is thus a must-have for any serious jazz fan. (35 Melrose Place, Stamford, Conn. 06902; 203-327-7111.)



MOVIES

MERMAIDS. This mother-daughter comedy has all the trappings of 1963 nostalgia—the pop tunes, the cars and clothes, the Kennedy assassination—plus another movie anachronism: a lot of old-fashioned heart. As Cher's daughter, roiled by puberty and obsessed with the lives of the saints, Winona Ryder confirms that she is America's most winning young actress.

AWAKENINGS. Actors love to play disadvantaged characters; it brings them big challenges and Oscar nominations. Robert De Niro is fine as a victim of sleeping sickness awakened by neurologist Robin Williams. But Penny Marshall's direction is TV-movie ham-fisted, and the film ends up as a case history of good intentions run to ground.

HAMLET. Turns out that Mel Gibson, with his brooding presence and urgent baritone, is on speaking terms with Shakespeare. And Franco Zeffirelli's film is plenty pretty. It almost works as a cloak-and-bodkin adventure, but with one problem for the kids: all that talk!



THEATER

REMEMBRANCE. Amid the turmoil of Belfast, two elderly people meet at a cemetery and form a Protestant-Catholic romance—tender and proper and doomed by "the troubles." Quiet and exquisitely acted, this touching off-Broadway drama features the lovable Malachy McCourt and the unforgettable Aileen O'Kelly, perhaps the finest unsung actress in North America.

THREE SISTERS. Terse, scatological David Mamet and wistful, musing Anton Chekhov make a far from obvious marriage, but after successfully adapting one of the Russian's short stories and *Uncle Vanya*, Mamet and his Atlantic Theater Company take on

a masterwork at Philadelphia's Festival Theater for New Plays.

WAITING FOR GODOT. Samuel Beckett may be gone, but his best-known play proves immortal in this production by the Virginia Stage Company's slyly funny artistic director, Charles Towers.



BOOKS

THE SECRET PILGRIM by John Le Carré (Knopf; \$21.95). So what if these related tales seem like outtakes from a story that has already been told? They are exciting reminders of Le Carré's fictional saga of postwar British intelligence, and best of all, they include the reappearance of George Smiley.

PORTABLE PEOPLE by Paul West (British American; \$10.95, paperback). The prolific novelist turns his fertile imagination to what he calls "fictional-biography," short, lyrical and sometimes surreal sketches of famous writers, musicians, politicians, athletes, heroes and villains, ranging from John Keats and Chris Evert to Joseph Goebbels and Jack the Ripper. A tour de force that is guaranteed to leave you sockless.



ETCETERA

FELD BALLETS/NY. One of America's most talented and stable ballet choreographers, Elliot Feld is starting a six-week season—which is no small achievement in recessionary times. Along with four premieres, there will be fond looks back at early lyrical works like *At Midnight* (1967). Jan. 29-March 10.

THE PASSION OF JONATHAN WADE. One of the few masters of American opera (*Susannah*), Carlisle Floyd sets his tragedy in Columbia, S.C., just after the Civil War at the savage start of Reconstruction. Sets by Günther Schneider-Siemssen. At the Houston Grand Opera, Jan. 18-Feb. 2.

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A cruise is a new environment, completely different from everyday life. Cruises appeal to people in different ways. For some, it is the great food and high quality of service. For others, it is the exhilaration of the sea air, the relaxing rhythm of the ocean or an escape from daily pressures.

The congenial atmosphere of a cruise encourages people to try new sports, learn new skills and make new friends. Whether you are 5 or 95, there are more ways to have fun on a cruise than hours in the day to enjoy them all. Best of all, shipboard life enables you to set your own pace.

Cruise vacations are mostly sold as all-inclusive air-and-sea packages, and offer the kind of value-for-dollar no other travel option can match. What's more, they take the hassle out of travel. You need only book and go. On board your ship, you unpack once, turn off your worries and live out your fantasies. You'll be surrounded by the smiling faces of

those waiting to serve you and make you happy. No wonder so many travelers are turned on to cruising!

A cruise has so many dimensions—there is something for everyone. Singles need not worry about being alone, going into a nightclub unaccompanied or driving home late at night. Families get quality time together, yet all members have the freedom to go their own way.

The all-inclusive nature of cruises with their range of activities, also means that parents need not reach into their pockets every time they want to meet their children's requests. And working couples will find cruises a great way to escape the pressures of everyday life.

For honeymooners, a cruise is private in a fairland setting with a crew whose main concern is the happiness of the pas-



Companionship glows in the warmth of a cruise.



Cruising gives you time to enjoy old friends and make new ones.

FOR EVERYONE

sengers. For seniors, cruises are a diversion from their routine, with cheerful people to serve them day and night.

Cruise vacations range from three-day escapes to three-month cruises around the world. They span the spectrum of style and price from budget to luxury.

You can choose a cruise for its destinations or for the facilities and diversions of the ship. There are cruises focused on themes, such as a jazz festival-at-sea, while others, like adventure cruises, are specialized. If you want to play golf, practice your French or watch whales, there's a cruise for every interest.

The 160 ships in the world's cruise fleet—double the number of a decade ago—run the gamut from expedition ships for fewer than 100 people to floating resorts for 2,500 passengers. The new ships of the '90s—some with first-ever features—add new dimensions to cruising, making it more exciting than ever. The lively, informal atmosphere is also attracting scores of new, younger passengers. Getting there is no longer half the fun. It *is* the fun.

If you have never taken a cruise, it might be difficult to understand or believe that cruise vacations can satisfy people with such different interests and needs. But the variety of cruises and the wealth of choices on board and in port give cruising universal appeal. That's the secret of its success.

You can discover the secret for yourself, because somewhere out there, there's a cruise for you.



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Contemporary Elegance—new, stylish and sophisticated

Budget Conscious—casual and unpretentious

Cozy and Casual—small and informal

Private Yacht—posh and exclusive

Destination-Oriented—focus on places rather than on the ship

Culturally Oriented—highbrow lectures and tours

Adventure/Nature Expeditions—explore hard-to-reach scenic places; wildlife; hiking

Off-the-Beaten Track—small and mid-size ships to interesting smaller ports

Historic Waterways—steamboats on the rivers of history

Ethnic Flavors—the heritage of the ship and staff is a focus for the food, music and other elements

Family Specialists—special staff and facilities for children

Sailcruisers—sailing under canvas in cruise-ship comfort

Themes/Special Interests—seasonal events, hobbies and other special activities such as a mystery or music festival-at-sea

Sport Specialized—diving, golf, tennis and other sports with specialized equipment and instructors

A WISH LIST

Most of today's cruise ships are equipped with a variety of facilities so that passengers have many ways to enjoy themselves. Which activities would you prefer?

- ☐ spa
- ☐ gym
- ☐ jogging track
- ☐ swimming pool
- ☐ fitness program
- ☐ sauna
- ☐ hot tub/whirlpool
- ☐ massage
- ☐ video games
- ☐ cinema
- ☐ library
- ☐ boutiques
- ☐ fashion show
- ☐ bingo
- ☐ casino
- ☐ disco
- ☐ Broadway production
- ☐ Las Vegas-style revue
- ☐ nightclub
- ☐ cabaret
- ☐ piano bar
- ☐ choice of restaurants
- ☐ table for two in dining room
- ☐ ice cream parlor
- ☐ pizzeria
- ☐ midnight buffet
- ☐ low-cal/lite cuisine
- ☐ Ping-Pong
- ☐ shuffleboard
- ☐ volleyball
- ☐ basketball
- ☐ racquetball
- ☐ tennis/golf practice
- ☐ skeet shooting
- ☐ all I need is a deck chair, some good books and a quiet corner



Whether you're 5 or 95, you'll find many ways to have fun on board.

THE BEST VALUE IN TRAVEL

Cruising may appear expensive, but people—particularly those with modest means—are discovering that dollar-for-dollar a cruise vacation is *the* unbeatable value in the world of travel.

For one price in an all-inclusive, air-sea package—the most popular way to buy a cruise—you get...

Air Transportation—round-trip hometown/ departure port

Transfers—round-trip airport/port for you and your baggage between the plane and the ship

Sea Transportation—port-to-port

Tender Service—round-trip between your ship and port, when needed

Accommodations—twice-daily cabin cleaning, change of towels and turn-down bed service

All Meals—four services daily are standard; seven are not unusual

Room Service—complimentary on most ships

All Shipboard Recreation

All Shipboard Activities

All Shipboard Enrichment Programs

All Shipboard Fitness Programs

All Shipboard Sports

All Shipboard Entertainment

ALL-IN-ONE CONVENIENCE



Service with a smile and breakfast in bed.

Except for tips, shore excursions and personal items such as hairdressers and bar bills, you will have paid for your vacation. There are no hidden costs.

The savings contained in an air-sea package are enormous. Cruise lines buy airline seats in bulk year-round on regularly scheduled flights at much lower rates than individuals can purchase them. But if you want to make your own flight arrangements, or drive to your port of embarkation, cruise-only discounts are available.

Air-sea packages make booking and buying a cruise easy and eliminate the hassles of travel. No matter where you live, the cruise lines have all but brought their ships to your doorstep. It is as easy for someone in Portland, Ore., to cruise the Caribbean as it is for those in Atlanta, Ga., to sail in Hawaii or Alaska.

After you check your luggage at the airport in your departure town, you will not have to deal with your luggage again until you reach your cabin aboard ship. When you unpack, you can put away your suitcase until the end of the cruise. There are no planes or trains to catch; no traffic on the freeway to fight. You dine and dance, swim and sleep, while your floating hotel sails to the next port. Is it any wonder that a cruise is so relaxing?

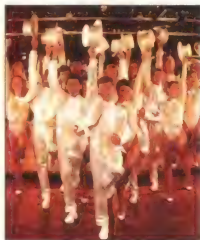
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NO EXTRA CHARGE

A full schedule of the next day's activities is slipped under your door each evening so you can plan your day. It might start with morning exercises on deck, yoga in the gym, dance lessons in the lounge, followed by such "enrichment" programs as cooking classes and stress management. There will be a selection of sports and sports instruction, first-run movies and much more—all at no extra charge. You can do as much or as little as you want; no one will pressure you. And these activities are all included in the price of your ticket.



Chic boutiques with duty-free prices are found on most ships.



You'll see a different show every night—and it's all included in the price.

THE LOVE BOAT™



The Perfect Caribbean Island.

British, Italian and Liberian Registry

There's an island in the Caribbean where you can dine on gourmet cuisine and never see a check. Experience Broadway without a ticket. Where a dedicated European staff is at your beck and call. And the best of the Caribbean is at your fingertips year-round. You'll find the perfect island on Princess;™ the only cruise with Love Boat Luxury™ and mys-

tique. And soon the stunning new Regal Princess™ joins the most modern, most spacious fleet in the Caribbean. So, make sure your Caribbean cruise

is the perfect one. On Princess, the Caribbean's Perfect Island. Call your travel agent for details, or for a free Princess brochure, call **1-800-765-0888 ext. 14.**



*"It's More Than A Cruise,
It's The Love Boat™"*
Gavin MacLeod

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 **PRINCESS CRUISES®**

A MOVEABLE FEAST



Relax on the lido deck in the fresh air by the pool.

On most cruise ships, you can enjoy breakfast in the dining room, at an informal buffet on the lido or swimming pool deck, or you can have breakfast in bed.

Lunch, too, is served in the dining room or on the lido, and on some cruises, lunch might be a beach party picnic, a luau or a salmon bake.

Dinners are usually festive affairs with different themes, decor and menus each evening.

And then there's the midnight buffet. Some ships make it a spectacular show with elaborately decorated buffets; others highlight the specialized talents of their chefs with unusual features, such as an all-pasta buffet or 101 ways to prepare chocolate.

Ships with a European tradition often serve morning bouillon or a mid-morning snack and afternoon tea. Many ships provide cocktail canapés, late-night snacks and fresh fruit in your cabin. And keep in mind, it's all included in the price. Some ships even include wine with lunch and dinner without additional charge.

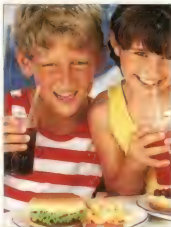
Larger ships have ice cream parlors, pizzerias and other specialty food outlets, and several deluxe ships have dining alternatives in specialty restaurants.

EAT WHAT YOU WANT

If you are worried about keeping fit in the face of so much tempting food, cruise lines have kept up with the health trends in food as well as in fitness. Almost all menus now have "lite" cuisine selections

that are as delicious as anything else on the menu. Cruise ships can cater to special food requirements, such as salt-free or vegetarian diets. Your travel agent can make your special needs known when you book your cruise.

At the start of a cruise, you are asked your preference for first or second sitting and will be assigned a table (or your travel agent can request it in advance). If you are accustomed to retiring early, you may prefer the first sitting when lunch is served at noon and dinner at 6:30 p.m. If you expect to close the disco every night, you will want the second sitting. Small ships and luxury ships usually have open seating, and on a few of the most luxurious ships, passengers may dine when they choose—that's part of the luxury.



Cruise vacations score high with kids.



Imagine a gracious dining experience like this one.

WHAT IS A CRUISE?

It's instant relief from...

- smog and pollution
- stress
- freeway traffic
- alarm clocks
- ringing telephones
- blinking computers
- everyday routine

It's a great time for...

- breakfast in bed
- dancing under the stars
- lounging on deck
- soaking in a hot tub
- champagne and caviar
- tea on deck
- first-run films
- gracious service

WE CAN LIVE WITH THIS KIND OF CRITICISM.



Fielding awarded the Seaward four stars. *Berlitz*, even more lavish in its praise, ranked the Seaward head and shoulders over other ships in the Western Caribbean.

But the newest ship in NCL's fleet has a lot more going for it than the experts' opinions. Like the *Palm Tree*, the Caribbean's first and only gourmet à la carte restaurant. One of the largest pools afloat. A state-of-the-art health spa. As well as entertainment and activities that are the envy of the industry.

Not to mention the entertainment and activities offered by the Western Caribbean itself. From *Pleasure Island*, NCL's exclusive private island, to Mexico and from the Caymans to Ocho Rios, no cruise offers sports, cultural and shopping experiences in such varied abundance.

To get in on all the action, call your travel agent or dial 1-800-262-4NCL.

We have absolutely no doubt that you'll find the kind of criticism the *Seaward* gets very, very easy to take.



NORWEGIAN CRUISE LINE.
The Pleasure Ships

SHIP'S REGISTRY: PANAMA'S OROCHI NORWEGIAN CRUISE LINE



Every day, somewhere in the world, a Royal Caribbean® cruise ship is setting sail.

Whether it's our largest ship, Sovereign of the Seas, cruising through serene waters toward our private port of Labadee, or our most

intimate, the Sun Viking, navigating the Baltic coastline en route to the beautiful and historic city of Leningrad.

No matter what the ship, and no matter where the destination, Royal Caribbean will relax and entertain you like no other cruise line can. Perhaps that's why the readers of *Travel-Holiday* magazine have named us "the world's best" cruise line five years in a row.



Take our Caribbean vacations, for example. Where historic landmarks and exotic cultures

await you at every port. And where tropical islands framed by secluded, white-sand beaches are commonplace.

Departing from Miami or San Juan, these cruises can transport you to such idyllic resorts as St. Thomas, Barbados, Martinique, Ocho Rios and Cozumel. As well as our newest destinations—Trinidad, St. Kitts, Grenada, Curaçao and Aruba.

And if you sail after May 5th, you could find

Studies Show That Only One Week Witho We Have Ships A

yourself aboard Monarch of the Seas, our newest ship, and sister to Sovereign of the Seas.

But there's far more to Royal Caribbean than our name might suggest. Like our 7-night cruises to ever-popular Bermuda. Or our 3, 4 and 7-night excursions from Los Angeles to Mexico.

There, you can visit the enchanting coastal paradise of Puerto Vallarta, the ruggedly beautiful Mazatlán and perhaps the most exclusive resort



on the Mexican Riviera, Cabo San Lucas.

Of course, if you've had your fill of sand and



surf, you can always opt for the soaring cliffs and deeply forested landscape of Alaska. With weekly

all the cultural riches of the Old World, without once having to pack and unpack your bags.

From Labadee to Leningrad and Mexico to



Martinique, Royal Caribbean's modern fleet

rules the seas.

With the finest in food

Man Can Survive out Water. Fortunately, t Sea Every Day.

and service and
an almost unlimited
number of free activities.

departures from Vancouver, Royal Caribbean's summer cruises to our 50th state offer a most civilized way to see nature unspoiled.



All of which, we might add, are entirely optional.

Simply contact your travel agent to arrange a 3, 4, 7, 8, 10, 12 or 14-night Royal Caribbean vacation that's affordable for you. Before you know it, you'll be sailing your way to the one destination which is common to all our cruise vacations.

Peace of mind.



And finally, there's Europe. Royal Caribbean's choice of summer itineraries now includes more than 35 European cities, from the Baltic to the Mediterranean. Which means you can experience

ROYAL CARIBBEAN VACATIONS.

CRUISING THE CARIBBEAN, BAHAMAS, BERMUDA, EUROPE, MEXICO AND ALASKA

Ships of Norwegian, Liberian, and Bahamian Registry

WHAT'S HAPPENING ON BOARD

CRUISE LINES READY FOR THE 1990s

Cruising has sailed into the new decade with new cruise lines, new ships, new shipboard amenities and facilities, new types of cruises, new departure ports and new ports of call.

Nearly 40 new ships will be added in the 1990-94 time frame—a 45% increase in capacity in five years. In 1990 alone, 14 brand-new cruise ships made their debut to the tune of \$2 billion.

These ships are not simply new. They are the trendsetters of the '90s designed for a new generation of more travel-savvy cruise passengers who have broader, more varied interests than passengers did in the past. The ships run the gamut from small icebreakers for Antarctic exploration to 2,500-passenger megaliners packed with sports, recreation and so many entertainment options you might need more than one cruise to try them all.

CHANGES YOU WILL ENJOY

The megaliners have many spectacular new features—large atriums, bubble-glass elevators and waterfalls; glittering casinos;



On masquerade night, you can get into the act or watch from the sidelines.

multitiered theaters for Broadway musicals; retractable dance floors; bi-level dining rooms; shopping arcades with designer-label boutiques; state-of-the-art fitness centers; swimming pools with swim-up bars; hot tubs; observation lounges with floor-to-ceiling windows and wide-angle views.

Other changes are more subtle. Generally, the ships of the '90s have raised the standards of luxury in all categories. The use of space in cabins and bathrooms has been improved, and amenities such as hairdryers, mini-bars and VCRs have often been added. Picture windows have replaced portholes, more cabins have verandas, and suites are more luxurious—with walk-in closets, marbled baths and plush bathrobes. Passengers also benefit from hi-tech innovations, such as satellite-delivered television and worldwide direct-dial telephone.

Separate recreational facilities for children are also becoming standard. Cruise lines specializing in family travel have extensive activity programs supervised by staffs of youth counselors.

One kind of trendsetting ship—accommodating 1,000 to 1,400 passengers—



The trendsetter ships of the '90s have large atriums leading to boutiques, bars and entertainment lounges.

(continued)



State-of-the-art gyms and fitness programs are designed for today's active, health-conscious passengers.

JUST FOR KIDS

- ☐ youth counselors
- ☐ youth center
- ☐ playroom
- ☐ teen counselors
- ☐ teen center & disco
- ☐ daily activities agenda
- ☐ children's pool
- ☐ gym
- ☐ ice cream parties
- ☐ pizza parties
- ☐ dance classes
- ☐ children's menus
- ☐ movies & cartoons
- ☐ games & contests
- ☐ video game room
- ☐ Ping-Pong
- ☐ children's books
- ☐ treasure hunts
- ☐ arts & crafts
- ☐ beach parties
- ☐ babysitters
- ☐ nursery
- ☐ children's cruise fares
- ☐ free seasonal accommodations

A L A S K A



Before you set sail for Alaska, explore your options in our full-color cruise brochure.

In it, you'll discover the many choices available to you through Holland America Line, voted the

EXPLORE ALASKA ABOARD THE WORLD'S BEST CRUISE LINE.

world's best cruise line by the readers of *Condé Nast Traveler* magazine. And you'll get a taste of what it's like to spend a vacation on board the most elegant ships in the cruise industry.

For, when you sail with us, you'll be treated to the finest cuisine. Catered to hand and foot. Entertained nightly by dazzling shows. And provided a choice of activities—from the excitement of a casino to the relaxation of a sauna and massage.

So come. Cruise the famed Inside Passage. Visit the colorful ports of Ketchikan, Juneau and Sitka. Experience the awesome beauty of Glacier Bay National Park.

Or take an exciting journey into the heart of the Great Land with Holland America Westours, Alaska's leading tour company.

It's the vacation you've dreamed of. And now's the time to make it a reality. Because, if you book by February 1, 1991, you'll save up to \$600* per couple.

See your travel agent today or call 1-900-740-3002 for a full-color brochure.

The cost of the phone call is \$2 per minute (maximum 2 minutes).



Alaska • Canadian Rockies • Caribbean • Panama Canal • Mexico • South Pacific • Western U.S.



Holland America Line

A TRADITION OF EXCELLENCE®

*\$600 per couple off published cruise (or excursion) price; applies to deluxe categories and suites. Other category discounts available. Some restrictions apply. Phone charges are \$2 per minute for a maximum of 2 minutes. Ships: Registry: Netherlands Antilles/Bahamas.



Spin the wheel of fortune on almost any cruise you choose.

represents a new style of vessel that combines the elegance and glamour of bygone days with a contemporary setting. These ships are decked out in modern decor, often accented with museum-quality art, and offer a full range of sports, recreation and entertainment in a more subdued, sophisticated ambience than that of the megaliners.

Another new kind of ship has facilities for up to 250 passengers. It is small and posh with the ambience of a private yacht or exclusive club. These ships have spacious, beautifully designed suite-only accommodations, plus the scaled-down facilities of large ships. Passengers dine on haute cuisine and fine wines at the time of their choosing. Full-meal service in staterooms is available around the clock.

EXPAND YOUR HORIZONS

Many of the most important changes are in the recreation and entertainment areas. Large ships feature a diversity of small, separate lounges and bars, each with its own ambience and entertainment. Some lounges have jazz, classical or country

music for listening; others have music for dancing. You may also find a lively wine bar, piano or sing-a-long bar aboard your ship...or soft music and subdued lighting for after-dinner lounging.

The modern spas-at-sea, introduced in 1982, have grown larger and are as sophisticated as land-based health clubs. They are professionally operated and staffed; equipped with steam rooms, hydrotherapy baths and saunas; and offer herbal wraps, facials, massage and more. The most luxurious ships include spa services in their price; other ships charge for services.

Foods are prepared to fit in with contemporary, active lifestyles; many selections have been created by famous chefs. Passengers are offered a wide choice of à la carte and specialty restaurants, indoor/outdoor cafes, pubs, pizzerias, juice bars and ice cream parlors. Several lines have small supper clubs serving gourmet cuisine where passengers pay a surcharge. Recently, a new cruise line introduced specialty restaurants—in addition to regular dining room meal service—at no extra cost.

Of all the cruise lines in the world, only one is in Hawaii.



Special Offers*

7-day cruises from \$895
3-day cruise/4-day resort
vacations from \$629

Nobody can show you Hawaii like American Hawaii Cruises®. We offer an unsurpassed variety of very unique totally relaxing vacations. Like 4 islands in 7 days. Or 3-day

cruise/4-day resort packages, to name just a few. Departing our home port of Honolulu, we sail between islands by night, so you can spend all day on shore.

It's a truly convenient, perfectly planned way

to see Hawaii. And it's also a tremendous value.

There's no wasted time or money on inter-island flights or hotel-hopping.

Plus, our classic ships offer spacious decks, richly refurbished lounges and staterooms and a very friendly American crew.

For our new brochure, call your travel agent or call us directly at 1-800-765-7000. We'll make sure you don't miss a thing.



The principal carrier of American Hawaii Cruises is American Airlines.

There are more specialized cruise lines for adventurous travelers. New expedition cruise ships have sturdy hulls on the outside, but inside, the spartan accommodations of the past have been replaced by a quiet elegance, spacious cabins and some standard cruise ship amenities. On closed-circuit television, passengers can watch their ship plow through icy waters or divers explore the sea. On some ships, a "hands-on" research laboratory enables passengers to participate more fully in the expeditionary nature of the cruise.

NEW PORTS OF CALL

Cruise lines with small ships are specializing, large lines are globalizing, and all are sending their ships to roam the globe on new itineraries and to new ports of call.

Ships that traditionally sailed only in the Caribbean are now in Europe and Alaska; others long associated with the West Coast have come East. With the arrival of new and larger ships in Florida ports, cruise lines serving the Caribbean have moved some of their fleet to San Juan and other Caribbean ports to sail

on a wide variety of new itineraries in the Eastern and Southern Caribbean.

Belize and the Bay Islands off the coast of Central America are the favorites of ships that cater to scuba divers, while Costa Rica and Panama's San Blas Islands and Darien jungle are meccas for adventure and nature-oriented cruises.

South America, which is gaining steadily in popularity, has 15 cruise lines sailing on 7 to 70-day itineraries. The Amazon is the highlight.

Cruise lines that go off the beaten path have sought exotic new ports from Africa to India, while new lines are cruising along Japan's Pacific Coast and Inland Sea... and from Guam to the Marshall Islands and Micronesia. Antarctica is a strong draw for avant-garde travelers.

The opening of Eastern Europe puts cities such as Bucharest and Berlin, Tallinn in Estonia and Gdynia in Poland on 1991 itineraries. Closer to home, next year's 500th anniversary of Christopher Columbus' arrival in the New World has inspired some lines to plan cruises along Columbus' routes of discovery in the Bahamas and Caribbean.



Adventure trips take you close to wildlife and natural wonders.

They bear names like Portofino, Villa D'Este, Four Seasons and Trevi. And you'll find them on Costa ships all over the world.

In Italy, fine cuisine and attentive service are national traits.

On Costa, they're pure passion.

A cruise shouldn't simply be a boatride to faraway places. And with that in mind, we invite you to Cruise Italian Style with Costa.

Costa cruises the Caribbean, the Mediterranean, Alaska, Trans Panama Canal and around the world with exceptional ships and a perfect attitude. For a free brochure,

see your travel agent or call

1-800-322-8263.

Ships of Italian and Liberian registry

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CRUISE ITALIAN STYLE

*Every week, some of the world's great restaurants set out to sea.
Reservations absolutely necessary.*



**VOTED #1
CRUISE LINE**
by ASTA Travel Agents



"A Carnival cruise is
more fun than anything!"
—Kathie Lee Clifford

For a cool dip
or a tropical sip, pool side
is the perfect place.



Get moving in the
disco, or choose from
three bands
and orchestras.



Kids love our
Camp Carnival
program and we
even offer baby
sitting services.



Stroll a secluded beach
or try some sight-seeing
—underwater!



Dinner's a time to
anticipate—with new
friends and terrific
international cuisine.



IN THE MORNING, IN THE E

Take a 3, 4 or 7 Day Vacation on Carnival, TI

When you take a Carnival® cruise, your destination is paradise — and getting there is all the fun!

In our world of shipboard delights, you're

treated to one memory-making day after another. We throw a continuous party where you can do it all or nothing at all. The choice is yours. And the pleasure is ours, with a terrific staff that's always on hand to pamper you with great service and treat you to 8 great meals and snacks a day.

Your air fare, meals, activities and entertainment are all included for one low price. It's your



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Our staff
pampers you
24 hours a day!

Eight delicious meals and snacks
a day—and there's never a bill



Blackjack, craps,
roulette and slots await
your luck in the casino.

We bring Las Vegas
on board! Discover the
brightest stars at sea.



Romance is never far
away when the stars meet
the horizon; tonight's a night
you'll always remember.

We sail to friendly
ports of call—so shop, explore
or just say hello!



EVENING, AIN'T WE GOT FUN!

the Most Popular Cruise Line in the World!

best vacation value! Carnival's magnificent floating resorts take you to tropical ports in the Bahamas, Caribbean and Mexican Riviera. No other vacation offers so many fun choices.

So take your next vacation with Carnival and discover why we're The Most Popular Cruise Line in the World!™ And treat yourself to the vacation that's oceans apart.

See your travel agent for a 3, 4 or 7 day vacation from \$425 per person, including air fare. Some restrictions apply. Prices higher in the West.

*the
"Fun Ships"*

Carnival



NATIONAL CRUISE VACATION MONTH
FEBRUARY 1991

ON SHORE ACTIVITIES

A WORLDWIDE POTPOURRI OF FUN AND DIVERSIONS

A cruise does not stop with the ship. On the contrary, many people select a cruise for the places it visits. Often, cruise ships are the most convenient or only way to visit a particular location. And many people find the combination of days at sea and days in port the best of all possible worlds.

Cruise ships usually remain in port for the day to give passengers ample time to tour on one of the ship's shore excursions or to explore on their own.

For active people, the weather in the Bahamas, Caribbean, Mexico or Hawaii is ideal year-round for a wide range of outdoor activities—biking, hiking, horse-back riding, golf, tennis, deep-sea fishing, sailing, snorkeling, diving and windsurfing. Excellent facilities are available and



Enjoy some of the world's best golf courses and memories of a great win.

often designed to cater specifically to cruise passengers. Sports programs on many ships combine instruction on board with shoreside activity.

Some ships, particularly on Bahama mini-cruises, have a day-at-the-beach as part of the itinerary. The ship stops at the cruise line's private island or resort, even a remote beach, for a "Robinson Crusoe" day with music, picnic and water sports.

For golfers, cruising opens opportunities from St. Andrews in Scotland to the Tasmania Golf Club in Australia. Near to home, golfers on cruises to the Bahamas have a choice of a half-dozen courses in Nassau or Freeport, some only a 10-minute drive from the port.

Cruising offers access to magnificent

PERSONAL SERVICE, CIRCA 1922



For more information on Cunard sailings to Europe, The Caribbean, Alaska, The Orient, South Pacific, and around the world call your travel agent. Or, for a free brochure or \$8.95 videotape depicting life aboard one of our top-rated ships, call 1-800-221-8200.

CUNARD
SINCE 1840

WE'RE NOT THE BEST BECAUSE WE'RE THE OLDEST.

QUEEN ELIZABETH 2 • SAGAFJORD • VISTAFJORD

coral reefs around the world. Water sports operators from the Caribbean and Mexico to Tahiti are geared for snorkelers, divers and would-be divers on a day's visit.

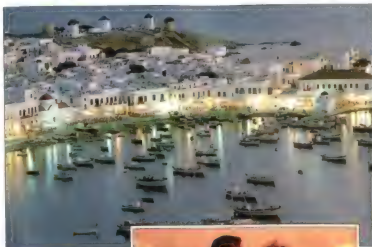
Tennis, hiking, biking and horseback riding are widely available. You can take a morning ride along a beach in Bermuda or St. Maarten or through a plantation in Jamaica. In Hawaii, you can ride a horse (or pedal a bike) down from the summit of 10,000 foot Mt. Haleakala.

Sports are only one kind of diversion available. On Caribbean cruises, history buffs in Santo Domingo can visit the oldest cathedral in the Western Hemisphere and the oldest synagogue in the Americas in Curaçao. In Puerto Rico, outer space enthusiasts can see the world's largest radar/telescope.

Alaska offers a glimpse of frontier life and awesome scenery. Mediterranean and Baltic cruises put you in the heart of Europe's most historic cities.

For some people, shopping is a cruise highlight and a great opportunity to check out local crafts and duty-free goods.

These suggestions only begin to cover the array of shore activities you can enjoy. The possibilities are unlimited no matter which part of the world you choose.



Cruises offer a panorama of beautiful ports of call.



Romance is always in the air.

N A R D



PERSONAL SERVICE 1991

Registered: C-2 Great Britain, Sagittaria, visit/visit Bahama, visit Sagittaria I & S Norway © 1991 Cruise

WE'RE THE OLDEST BECAUSE WE'RE THE BEST.

• SEA GODDESS I • SEA GODDESS II



WHO TAKES A CRUISE?

EVERYONE'S TAKING THEM

Cruise vacations are so appealing that everyone is taking them, particularly people between the ages of 35 and 45. In fact, they make up more than half of the passengers taking their first cruise.

What's more, the satisfaction ratings of cruise passengers are the highest in the travel industry. As one indication, 91% of those who have taken a cruise since 1988 say they are interested in taking another one, according to a new study by the Cruise Lines International Association (CLIA), the cruise industry's trade association representing 99% of all cruise capacity marketed from North America.

The study showed that:

- the number of people taking a cruise for the first time has almost doubled in the past two years;



Most cruise lines provide special children's fares.

- approximately 40% of all cruise passengers earn less than \$40,000 annually;
- the fastest growing segment of travelers taking cruise vacations are people between the ages of 25 and 39.

Also on the rise are males in the mid-age group and families with children. Indeed, among families who travel with their children and have already taken a cruise, the rate of satisfaction with their cruise vacation is nearly 100%. Almost 60% of all adults say they would like to take a cruise with the highest group being the emerging baby boomers.

Cruise vacations have enjoyed an average annual growth rate of 10% for two decades, making them the fastest growing travel category in the U.S. The numbers rose from an estimated 500,000 cruise passengers in 1970 to almost 4 million in

"We're glad we chose Regency!"



It happens after every cruise: we get stacks of letters from people who write to tell us what they enjoy about cruising with Regency. Like our out-of-the-ordinary itineraries to such wonderful places as the deep Caribbean...the majestic Glacier Route in Alaska...the historic TransCanada...exotic South America and of course, fabulous French Canada/ New England.

They also tell us how much they love Regency's gracious European service and spacious comfortable staterooms. But most often, it's our delicious continental cuisine prepared by French master chefs that prompts them to exclaim, "We're glad we chose Regency!"

We think you, too, will be glad you chose Regency. To find out which of our cruises you wish to experience, call your travel agent or Regency Cruises at 212-972-4499.

Regent Sea Regent Star Regent Sun

Ships Registered: Bahamas

REGENCY  **CRUISES**

WHO WILL YOU MEET ON A CRUISE?

- 50% or more will be on their first cruise
- 70% will be married; 30% will be single
- 25% of the families will be vacationing with their children
- 50% will be under 48 years of age
- 40% of the male passengers will be between the ages of 25 and 39
- 72% will have annual incomes under \$60,000

Note: These figures represent overall cruise industry averages and will vary by cruise line and by ship.

1990, and are expected to reach 10 million annually by the year 2000. Significantly, the growth has occurred in all 50 U.S. states and every province in Canada.

While passengers increased in number, their average age dropped. In the last five years, it has fallen from the mid-50s in 1985 to the mid-40s in 1990.

Passenger income base has broadened and people with moderate incomes have become an increasingly larger proportion of the total number of cruise passengers. Of those who took a cruise in the last five years, 39% had annual incomes of \$20,000 to \$39,000, while only 33% made up the \$40,000 to \$59,000 group and 28% had incomes of \$60,000 or more. Cruise industry marketers see the trend as a growing awareness among the traveling public of the affordability and benefits of cruise vacations.

One-week cruises remain the most popular choice, accounting for 55% of the market, but three- and four-day cruises, which increased steadily in the 1980s, have grown to 34% of the market and are expected to flourish in the 1990s.

The Caribbean (including the Bahamas

and Eastern Mexico) is the number one destination with more than 54% of the capacity and 65% of the passengers departing from U.S. ports.



Satisfaction ratings of cruise passengers are the highest in the travel industry.

DAY 5
LATITUDE 36°N LONGITUDE 25°E
CRUISING INTO SANTORINI
IN SEARCH OF THE LOST CONTINENT
A POOLSIDE OUZO ON ICE

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HOW TO CHOOSE A CRUISE

START WITH YOUR TRAVEL AGENT

For guidance in selecting the right cruise—the one that's right for you—the best place to start is with your travel agent. Approximately 95% of all cruises are bought through travel agents. It costs no more to buy from an agent than from a cruise line. It could save you money, and it will certainly save you time. Most important, an agent can help you select the right ship to match your interests and lifestyle expectations.

Travel agencies stock cruise line brochures that contain information on ship facilities, itineraries, sailing schedules



Caribbean ports are popular cruise destinations.

and costs. A travel agent knowledgeable about cruises will explain deck plans, and show you where the values lie. He or she knows about special packages, promotional fares and other discounts that could save you money.

Travel agents affiliated with CLIA (Cruise Lines International Association) have extensive training programs available to them, including firsthand experience through familiarization cruises. They also have videos on cruising, libraries of information and other resources that are updated constantly.

In addition, an agent can make reservations and secure your travel documents, reserve your dining room table, request special diets and arrange for a family reunion, anniversary party or extra amenities for honeymooners.

HOW TO FIND A TRAVEL AGENT

■ Ask friends who share your tastes and lifestyle for recommendations. Get specific names since agencies can vary greatly within an agency.

■ Find an agency with a cruise department or specialized staff. Most travel agencies sell cruises; not all have the same depth of knowledge. Agencies affiliated with Cruise Lines International Association display the CLIA seal (see below).

■ Look for a seasoned agent who has firsthand knowledge of the wide range of ships and cruises.

■ Consider the questions an agent asks you. Is the agent making an effort to understand your needs? Be candid about your budget; be flexible about travel dates.

■ If you are not confident about the agent's guidance, try another agency. You are under no obligation. Your relationship with your agent is important.



KNOW YOUR CRUISE STYLE

Consider these factors before you book your trip to determine which cruise is right for you.

Size of Ship: A ship's size sets the parameters for its facilities and the ambience for its cruises. Large ships (over 1,000 passengers) are like large resorts-at-sea with round-the-clock action and a high energy ambience. The plethora of diversions has appeal to a wide variety of people.



Florida ports are home to many cruise ships.

Small ships (under 250 passengers) range in style from homey to luxurious but generally have in common a low-key, leisurely, intimate atmosphere. Their shallow drafts enable them to sail into places where large ships cannot go. Some have platforms that lower to sea level for sports; others carry small inflatable boats for exploring rivers and less accessible places.

Most small ships have a market niche, such as adventure cruises, dive cruises, luxury and exclusive cruises. They often pioneer new itineraries and appeal to experienced travelers.

Midsized ships (250 to 1,000 passengers) span a wide range from budget to luxury and offer classic but contemporary cruises. They have the facilities and activ-

(continued)



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Registry: Bahamas and Liberia

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Here are some ways to spend your time on your cruise: You can...

Play

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> golf | <input type="checkbox"/> chess |
| <input type="checkbox"/> tennis | <input type="checkbox"/> bingo |
| <input type="checkbox"/> bridge | <input type="checkbox"/> basketball |
| <input type="checkbox"/> backgammon | <input type="checkbox"/> volleyball |

Enjoy

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> horseback riding | <input type="checkbox"/> canoeing |
| <input type="checkbox"/> parasailing | <input type="checkbox"/> a ride in a pleasure submarine |
| <input type="checkbox"/> biking | <input type="checkbox"/> swimming with dolphins |
| <input type="checkbox"/> hiking | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> river rafting | |

Learn

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> to snorkel, dive & windsurf | <input type="checkbox"/> stress management |
| <input type="checkbox"/> to stop smoking | <input type="checkbox"/> estate planning |
| <input type="checkbox"/> about wines & gourmet dishes | <input type="checkbox"/> retirement planning |
| <input type="checkbox"/> the stock market | <input type="checkbox"/> tap dancing |
| <input type="checkbox"/> computers | <input type="checkbox"/> ballroom dancing |
| <input type="checkbox"/> nature and wildlife | <input type="checkbox"/> the lambada |

Practice

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> French | <input type="checkbox"/> yoga |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Italian | <input type="checkbox"/> danceercise |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Greek | <input type="checkbox"/> swimnastics |
| <input type="checkbox"/> aerobics | <input type="checkbox"/> ballet |

Attend a

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| <input type="checkbox"/> jazz festival | <input type="checkbox"/> theater-at-sea |
| <input type="checkbox"/> classical music | <input type="checkbox"/> cooking seminar |
| <input type="checkbox"/> festival | <input type="checkbox"/> chocolate festival |
| <input type="checkbox"/> country music | <input type="checkbox"/> mystery week |
| <input type="checkbox"/> festival | <input type="checkbox"/> photography seminar |
| <input type="checkbox"/> '50s and '60s hop | <input type="checkbox"/> salmon bake |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Big Band festival | <input type="checkbox"/> beach party |
| <input type="checkbox"/> film festival | |

See

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|--------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> whales | <input type="checkbox"/> penguins |
| <input type="checkbox"/> birds | <input type="checkbox"/> glaciers |
| <input type="checkbox"/> lions | <input type="checkbox"/> volcanoes |
| <input type="checkbox"/> sea lions | <input type="checkbox"/> rain forests |
| <input type="checkbox"/> elephants | <input type="checkbox"/> famous gardens |
| <input type="checkbox"/> seals | <input type="checkbox"/> autumn leaves |
| <input type="checkbox"/> polar bears | |

Visit

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|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> museums | <input type="checkbox"/> native markets |
| <input type="checkbox"/> old castles | <input type="checkbox"/> craft shops |
| <input type="checkbox"/> historic forts | <input type="checkbox"/> working plantations |
| <input type="checkbox"/> ancient temples | <input type="checkbox"/> local restaurants |
| <input type="checkbox"/> vineyards | <input type="checkbox"/> duty-free shops |
| <input type="checkbox"/> art galleries | |

Rent a

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> sailboat | <input type="checkbox"/> four-wheel drive vehicle |
| <input type="checkbox"/> car | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> moped | |

Or ☐ do nothing at all

ities of larger ships, but on a smaller scale, and shipboard life tends to be relaxed. Some offer theme or special interest cruises such as a mystery cruise or music festival-at-sea.

Length of Cruise: The duration of a cruise is key to the ambience and types of people you are likely to find aboard.

Mini-cruises of three or four days are pure escapes with an informal party atmosphere filled with diversions. They meet the growing demand for shorter, more frequent vacations. You are as likely to meet an office worker who has a few dollars to spend as a millionaire with a few days to kill. Since they are less expensive, mini-cruises are popular among those taking their first cruise.

One-week cruises are available in virtually every part of the world. Ports visited might number as few as two and as many as eight. Most people new to cruising tend to look for cruises with the most ports of call because they perceive them as value; more experienced cruisers, however, prefer fewer ports because they enjoy their time at sea.

Cruises of more than a week place greater emphasis on service, cuisine and changing itineraries to attract older, more experienced travelers. Shipboard activity tends to occur at a leisurely pace.

Adventure, nature and expedition cruises often last two weeks or more and operate seasonally to take advantage of optimum weather and wildlife conditions. They appeal to experienced travelers who want a stimulating, educational environment.

Nationality: The national origin of the owners, officers and staff of a ship—Italian, Greek, Dutch, Norwegian and others—is often reflected in the food and music on board and the ship's destinations.

Destinations: Activities and cruise ambience vary according to a ship's des-



Small ships have an intimate, low-key ambience

tinations. A cruise in Europe offers sightseeing, concerts, theater and museums in great cities, as well as the opportunity to ramble in the countryside and sample local wines and cuisines in small towns by the sea. Mediterranean and Greek Isle cruises call at places of historic significance.

Cruises to Japan, Bali and Southeast Asia are windows onto the exotic cultures of the Orient. On cruises to Hawaii, Tahiti, the fjords of Norway and Alaska—all regions with magnificent scenery—there are shore excursions that focus on natural beauty. In the Galápagos and Antarctica, the attraction is wildlife.

Cruises on river and coastal waterways offer nostalgic, unhurried ways to see some of the most historic parts of the United States and Canada. The Northeast is especially popular in autumn during the fall foliage.

The majority of cruises sailing from Florida to the Bahamas and the Caribbean, and from the West Coast to the Mexican Riviera, are sun-blessed holidays. The emphasis is on sports, shopping and nightlife rather than on sightseeing. But a Caribbean cruise is also a scenic and cultural kaleidoscope as different as the U.S. and British Virgin Islands, the French West Indies and the Dutch Antilles. There is also the combination of two oceans—the Atlantic and Pacific—with the unique experience of transiting the Panama Canal.



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The Official Cruise Line of Walt Disney World

[illegible]

REFLECTIONS FROM FIRST-TIME CRUISERS

There were nearly 4 million cruise passengers in 1990; more than half of them took a cruise for the first time. And as always on a cruise, they were filled with special memories.

Praise for the Staff

"I recently took my first cruise, but it will not be my last," Maggie B. of Erie, Pa., says. "It was the best vacation I ever had. I have never seen people work so hard to make sure that everyone is having a good time."

Advice for the Reluctant Cruiser

"I had been on a cruise before I got married and loved it," Paula S. of Brooklyn, N.Y., says. "I wanted to go again because I knew how exciting it can be, but I could not convince my husband. He thought he would be bored. Imagine! Finally, he agreed when I put together a group of friends to go with us. He had the time of his life and was planning another cruise before we got home. If anyone is hesitant about taking a cruise, I say, *do it*. I guarantee they will love it."

Celebrating a Special Occasion

Two well-traveled couples from different parts of the country, who were friends from school days, decided to celebrate their 50th birthday by



Beautiful memories will linger long after your cruise.

taking a cruise together.

"We had heard so much from our friends about the service on a cruise ship, it seemed like the right atmosphere for a special occasion like ours," one of them explained. "It was wonderful, but what we had not anticipated was how pleasant the experience would be."

Sharing It with the Family

Mary D. and her husband Neil of Santa Monica, Calif., recently took Mary's mother on her first cruise.

"I don't know who was more thrilled. My mother is not easy to please, but she loved every minute of it. It was a joy for me to share the cruise with my husband and children and see my mother enjoying herself so much."

Teens Enjoy Cruises

Fourteen-year-old Carrie J. from Dallas, Texas, took her first cruise with her family last summer and says she knew it would be fun. "But it was much better than we ever dreamed. We never had a worry the whole week. Everybody was really friendly and made sure we had a good time.

"Dinner was a blast with our waiter always doing magic tricks and making us laugh with his jokes. What I liked best was having so many people my age around. My sister had a good time, too. She met a guy who is now her boyfriend."

Singles Have a Good Time

Bobbie C. and his cousin Pete from Detroit, Mich., recently took their first cruise and are "still floating" Bobbie says. "After the singles party on the first night, I thought, man, this is for me. We really had a ball. I don't think we ever slept except on deck chairs. We didn't want to miss anything. It's so easy to meet people and have a good time."

Kids Remember the Fun Things

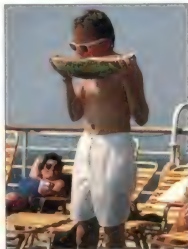
"Cruisin' is cool," Danny S., a seven-year-old from Cleveland, Ohio, proclaimed after his first cruise. "I didn't have to make up my bed, and I could have as many desserts as I wanted. One time the waiter brought me five scoops of ice cream, each a different flavor."

Your Reflections

When you take your first cruise, and the many journeys aboard ship in the years to come, you will have wonderful memories of your own.



Cruise ships can take you to secluded beaches.



Adults remember the romance and relaxation of a cruise. Kids remember the fabulous food and the fun.

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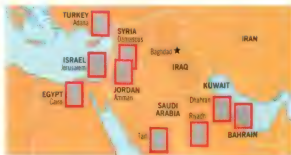
FROM THE PUBLISHER



Almash tends the links and minds the modems

In this first major war of the computer age, journalists are as dependent on their software as on their wits, and the possibility that a modem will eat their copy lurks as menacingly as a bomb threat. Fortunately, TIME has Hope. As technology manager for the magazine's news service, Hope Almash is the link between correspondents in the field and editors in New York City. Says Almash: "Our correspondents are expected to report and write great stories, then have the wizardry to send them in. These are quite different skills. Some of our people, especially the younger ones, are computer friendly. Others need the occasional hand holding."

As the allied offensive erupted, TIME's chief of correspondents, John F. Stacks, was back home from Baghdad, and 10 correspondents and nine photographers from the magazine were fully deployed in nine locations across the region. All the correspondents have relied on Almash to assist them with communications problems in filing. When correspondent Scott MacLeod, who had been in Baghdad with Stacks, tried sending a file over the special phone line he had set up at his base in Amman, Jordan, he got music on a local radio station instead of an encouraging dial tone. A call to Almash, and a reconnoiter of his hotel's communications center,



solved the problem. Special correspondent Michael Kramer, TIME's insider on the Kuwaiti government-in-exile, headed toward the gulf through London, with Almash tracking him as closely as a defensive back covers a wide receiver.

Communications dwindle to a minor concern in wartime for correspondents who find themselves sharing fear and hardship with the citizens of the countries they cover. When air-raid sirens howled Thursday night, Jerusalem bureau chief Jon Hull and his wife Judy donned gas masks, moved to a sealed room, then quickly placed their 15-month-old son Dylan in a small plastic tent designed to protect infants from chemical poisons. As Dylan howled in protest, Jon got on the phone to find out more about the Scud missiles that were falling on Israel and to advise us in New York City. It was a reminder for us all that war is composed of human experiences, and they are not often pleasant.

Leslie A. Weitz

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In a January 1991 poll conducted by the Times Mirror Center for The People & The Press, CNN's coverage received top honors from the general public in a national sample of cable and non-cable areas.

The Gulf War

TIME/JANUARY 28, 1991

A Storm

**As the bombs fell
and missiles flew,
hopes for a new
world order gave way
to familiar disorder**

**A cruise missile hurtles skyward from
the Wisconsin**

Erupts

By STROBE TALBOTT



Force. Derived from the Latin *fortis*, meaning "strong," it was the watchword of an extraordinary week.

I am stronger than you, therefore you will do what I say. Obey, or I will use force. That was what George Bush said to Saddam Hussein. For more than five months he had been saying it with warnings, then an ultimatum. Wednesday evening he switched to the vocabulary of bombs.

But Saddam talked back. *I am stronger than you*, he said to the man he calls the Satan in the White House. *You may have more means of killing, but I have many more soldiers willing to die. Therefore I will not do what you say.* On the second day of the war, Saddam added, *Not only do I refuse to do what you want, I will now do something you thought you could prevent me from doing.*

With that, sirens sounded in Israel.

The interaction of Bush's adamancy and Saddam's defiance was, to an unprecedented degree and in unprecedented ways, seen and heard round the world. Even



when deprived of video transmission, television newsmen in Baghdad could still hold microphones to their hotel windows. Audiences on every continent studied maps of the city while they listened to the *boom, boom, boom* of what Bush was saying to Saddam.

Everyone expected this war. It started on schedule. The reporters were as ready as the warriors. Partly for that reason, and partly because the coverage was so pervasive and transfixing, another spectacle in another corner of the global village caught the world by surprise and received far less attention than it deserved. The agents of Soviet power and the people of Lithuania engaged in a grim dialogue of their own.

I am stronger than you, said Mikhail Gorbachev. *Therefore you will do what I say. You can, if you insist, pursue your secessionist ambitions, but only according to rules and a timetable that suit those of us who don't want to see you ever achieve your goal. Otherwise I will use force.*

The Lithuanians' reply: *We are stronger than you because we have historical justice on our side. We are also strengthened by our own promises to govern democratically and to forswear the principle that might makes right. Therefore you cannot crush us.*

Gorbachev: *Wrong.*

With that, the tanks rolled in Vilnius.

Thus the world saw, in a few astonishing days, two examples of the resort to force that were, in many ways, at opposite ends of the moral spectrum. If there is such a thing as a just war, President Bush launched one against Saddam. The Iraqi dictator confirmed the worst that Bush had said of him by raining down ballistic mis-

siles on the civilian population of Israel, a nation totally uninvolved in the dispute over Kuwait—and one with which Saddam's Foreign Minister, Tariq Aziz, had said only a week earlier Iraq has "no bilateral dispute."

At the other end of the spectrum, Gorbachev was showing the world that however earnest he may be in wanting to reform the Soviet Union, the system over which he presides—and for which he bears responsibility—still relies heavily on the threat and use of force. The Soviet version of the social compact still boils down to the powers that be saying to the citizenry: *We are stronger than you; therefore you will do what we say.*

It is, as Russians often say, no accident that Joseph Stalin's first important job in the Bolshevik government was commissar of nationalities. Gorbachev demonstrated last week that he is prepared to tolerate if not instigate Stalinist methods to keep the U.S.S.R. together. His alibis and obfuscations do not change that stark, ugly bottom line.

Yet there was a bizarre similarity between what Gorbachev and Bush felt compelled to do last week. Each was resorting to the use of force in the name of law and order.

Gorbachev hopes the world in general and Bush in particular will indulge him in his crackdown on separatists because the alternative could be worse: the chaotic disintegration of the Soviet Union, which in turn may trigger a takeover of the country by a troika representing the military, the secret police and the Communist Party hard-liners. The sad implication of last week's massacre in Vilnius was that such a reversal may already have begun, with Gorbachev himself either as a participant or as a front.



Anti-aircraft fire ignites the sky over Baghdad as the bombing began early Thursday morning; on Friday Iraqi Scud missiles demolished houses in Tel Aviv

Talk of a pax Americana was not just premature but out of place

For his part, Bush justified the violence he unleashed on Iraq as an unavoidable step toward the forging of "a new world order, a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations."

It was the right rhetoric on behalf of the right policy. But no one should be under any illusion that the much vaunted new world order is in place or even at hand. Quite the contrary, last week's events in the Persian Gulf and on the Baltic Sea, while different in so many respects, had the combined effect of making the new world order seem all the more remote.

The U.S. Administration has been praised, deservedly, for securing the support of the United Nations Security Council and assembling a multinational coalition behind the effort to drive Saddam from Kuwait. Bush and other U.S. officials stressed repeatedly that the armed forces of 27 nations were fighting, or at least supposedly prepared to fight, alongside the American soldiers, sailors, aviators and Marines.

While all that is admirable, it is hardly new. The U.S. went to war against Adolf Hitler half a century ago as part of an alliance and on behalf of principles similar to those at stake today. In 1950 the U.S. plunged into Korea with the backing of a Security Council resolution and accompanied by the forces of 16 other nations.

Moreover, politically comforting as it is to have them there, the multitude of different colored flags arrayed in and around Saudi Arabia is not terribly relevant to the outcome of the battles now under way in Kuwait and Iraq. Desert Storm is very much an American operation. Once again, America's hardware, prowess and ability to absorb casualties will ultimately make the differ-

ence. In his press conference Friday, when Bush expressed his desire for the U.S. to be a "healer" and a "conciliator" once the fighting stops, he sounded downright Wilsonian. Even the President's idealism and his eagerness to be a good winner are out of the past.

Much of the talk about a new world order started a year ago, when Saddam was just another loudmouth bullyboy who was being paid off by the gulf Arabs, lethally equipped by the Soviets, as well as by the French and Germans, and coddled by the U.S. The cold war was over—that was the big news and the all-transforming fact of international life.

Yet now that proposition seems less clear-cut than it did even a few weeks ago. The horror in Vilnius is a reminder that there is still a lot of trouble, and terror, left in that giant country, not to mention almost 30,000 nuclear weapons. And if Gorbachev's relatively benign foreign policy collapses because of the vicious circle of internal revolt and repression, the West may find itself waging a Cold War II in the coming years. At a minimum, the Soviet Union may be less cooperative in the Security Council the next time Uncle Sam tries to round up a posse to go after some bad guy.

But the most basic refutation to the idea of a new world order was what happened in the air and on the ground in the Middle East last week. The resort to force—no matter how necessary under the circumstances—was an admission that the preferred and defining methods for making a better world had failed. Talk of a pax Americana was not just premature but out of place. There was plenty of Americana but too little pax. It was the same old world last week, and a not very orderly one at that.

The Gulf War

THE BATTLE

So Far, So Good

The air war gets off to an impressive start, but Iraq's dug-in positions in Kuwait and missile hits on Israel threaten trouble ahead

By GEORGE J. CHURCH



War is an exercise in the unpredictable and often uncontrollable, following a course that cannot be foreseen hour to hour and leading to consequences that neither side ever intended. Battle scenarios are crisp and clear-cut; actual battles are anything but, and invariably bring surprises. No matter that the war starts on live television. Or that the deadline for combat is set six weeks in advance and is publicized more intensively than any other in history. Or that the attack proceeds in precisely the fashion that had all but officially been proclaimed in advance, with massive air attacks. The unexpected still occurs.

After just three days of combat, the American public had experienced the emotional "ups and downs" that President Bush was quick to warn about. The public mood swung from elation over the overwhelming success of the opening air and missile assault to anxiety after Thursday night's Iraqi missile attack on Israel. It was just beginning to oscillate back toward relief that the Jewish state did not immediately retaliate when a second missile attack hit Saturday morning.

From then on, the suspense steadily in-

creased. Would Israel continue to heed U.S. and allied pleas not to strike back, or was it being goaded beyond endurance? If it did retaliate, could the U.S. hold the anti-Iraq coalition together, or might some of its Arab members bolt? How much longer would Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein, despite days of relentless aerial battering, remain capable of unleashing his long-dreaded chemical and bacteriological weapons? How soon might the U.S. start the ground attack that is still thought necessary to push Saddam's armies out of Kuwait, and how bloody will that eventual land war prove to be?

One surprise was surprise itself. After all the months that the war drums had been beating, the opening air and missile onslaught achieved almost complete tactical surprise. American weapons that had never been fired in anger worked as well as if the war were some elaborate training movie. Initial Iraqi resistance was so weak that Air Force Captain Genter Drummond, who took part in the opening assault, remarked, "It was as if we had no adversary." The few unexpected developments were favorable: only scattered anti-American demonstrations broke out in the Arab world rather than the massive pro-Iraqi riots that some had feared. As late as Friday noon, George Bush felt

compelled to issue another warning against public "euphoria." Said the President: "There will be losses. There will be obstacles along the way. And war is never cheap or easy."

BEFORE THE FIRE

The basic decisions that led to war were probably taken by Bush and Saddam within a few days of Iraq's seizure of Kuwait last Aug. 2. Only after 6½ hours of stonewalling by Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz when he met U.S. Secretary of State James Baker in Geneva on Jan. 9, however, did the White House finally give up hope of inducing Saddam to disgorge Kuwait by any means short of war. But as late as Tuesday, Jan. 15, the day the United Nations Security Council had fixed back in November as the deadline for Iraq to get out of Kuwait or face war, White House officials were giving reporters and some Congressmen a different impression. Saddam, these officials seemed to be suggesting, might have two days beyond the deadline, or even more, to stave off an attack by beginning a pullout. Kuwaiti sources believe that Saddam got the same message from Arab intermediaries, who were unwittingly fed the disinformation by the U.S.

Saddam would have done better to consult Domino's Pizza, which put out a warning at 5 a.m. Wednesday that war was likely later that day. Domino's had noticed record delivery orders the previous night from the White House and Pentagon, presumably to fuel officials through crisis meetings. In fact, around 11 a.m. Tuesday during a meeting in the Oval Office with his top national-security advisers, Bush signed a directive authorizing the attack unless there was a last-minute diplomatic breakthrough. That afternoon Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney signed an "execute" order putting the directive into effect.

On Wednesday Bush and Baker notified congressional leaders, ambassadors of allies and others that the attack was coming that night; former President Rich-



Loading 500-lb. bombs; pilot's gesture says it all about success of the initial assault

PHOTO BY AP/WIDEWORLD; VIDEO BY AP/WIDEWORLD

PHOTO BY AP/WIDEWORLD; VIDEO BY AP/WIDEWORLD



WAR ACTION JAN. 16-20



ard Nixon was told around noon. Baker called Alexander Bessmertnykh, the new Soviet Foreign Minister, in Moscow an hour before the assault. Bessmertnykh immediately told President Mikhail Gorbachev, who telephoned Bush to propose a final Soviet warning to its former ally to get out of Kuwait or else. Bush had no objection, so Gorbachev composed a letter that the Soviet ambassador to Baghdad was instructed to deliver to Saddam im-

mediately. Too late. The ambassador could not find the Iraqi President and had to hand the letter to Foreign Minister Aziz—in a bunker, after the attack had begun.

BOMBS IN THE DARK

Previous generations of pilots had spoken of a "bomber's moon." But that was in an era of what would now be considered low-tech conflict. Today the ideal condition

for an air raid is a pitch-black night. Infra-red devices and laser-guided bombs enable pilots to see and hit their targets through inky darkness; moonlight would serve only to make their planes more visible to anti-aircraft gunners. Jan. 15 was the first of three moonless nights in Iraq and Kuwait. No good; the U.S. considered the deadline for using force to be midnight American Eastern Standard Time, and that was 8 a.m. Jan. 16 over Baghdad, af-

The Gulf War



The first POWs: Iraqi soldiers captured by U.S. forces await interrogation after a battle on offshore oil platforms near Kuwait

dents at just about 7 p.m. EST—3 a.m. Thursday in Baghdad. "Just the way it was scheduled," noted Bush, who dispatched spokesman Marlin Fitzwater to tell reporters. "The liberation of Kuwait has begun."

Two hours later the President went on TV to deliver a speech that had been in preparation for weeks. His manner was somber and determined. The U.S. goal, he said, "is not the conquest of Iraq; it is the liberation of Kuwait." But in the process, he indicated, the anti-Iraq coalition would destroy the offensive military machine that made Iraq a menace to its neighbors. Said Bush: "We are determined to knock out Saddam Hussein's nuclear-bomb potential. We will also destroy his chemical weapons facilities."

FEEBLE RESPONSE

By that time, the destruction was well under way. Pilots returning from the first attack described an awesome pattern of flashing multicolored lights—some anti-aircraft bursts, some bombs—brightening the dark ground and skies. One after another likened it to a Fourth of July fireworks display or a Christmas tree. A British television correspondent standing on a sixth-floor balcony of Al Rasheed Hotel reported a weird sight: a U.S. cruise missile whizzing past at eye level and slamming into the Iraqi Defense Ministry nearby.

The pinpoint accuracy of the attacks was spectacular. At a Friday briefing in Saudi Arabia, Air Force Lieut. General Charles Horner showed videotapes of two

laser-guided bombs sailing through the open doors of a bunker in which an Iraqi Scud missile was stored, and a third plopping down the rooftop air shaft of a tall building in Baghdad—apparently the headquarters of the Iraqi air force—and then blowing off the top floors. Bombs and missiles also hit other targets around and even in the heart of Baghdad—Saddam's presidential palace, for one—while apparently doing little damage to civilian lives or property. Though Baghdad's ambassador to Japan said many Iraqi civilians had been killed, Western correspondents wandering around the city after the raids could find no sign that the report was true.

Even though the Iraqi military had supposedly been on maximum alert for several days and the U.S.-led alliance had made no secret of its intent to open any war with a massive and continuing aerial campaign, the Iraqis nonetheless appear to have been taken by surprise, or at least to have been unprepared for the fury of the assault. How could that be possible?

One theory is that Saddam Hussein genuinely believed the U.S. was bluffing. Another is that the Iraqi leader had little idea of the speed, stealth and power of a modern aerial and missile attack. Said a Bush adviser: "We weren't entirely sure how well some of this high-tech stuff would work in combat, so it's no wonder that Saddam might be surprised." Or perhaps Iraq simply lacked the technical ability to fend off such an offensive.

That is not an easy task even for the

most technologically sophisticated nation. A modern assault—and the one on Iraq appears to have followed this pattern—begins with an attack on the enemy's air-defense capabilities. Ground-hugging cruise missiles, flying too low for radar to detect easily, hit targets initially judged too dangerous for manned aircraft to handle. In the assault on Baghdad, some of the first blows came from Tomahawk cruise missiles fired by ships far out in the Persian Gulf. As the first explosions rocked the city, Iraqi anti-aircraft fire was directed into the sky at planes that were not there—yet. Stealth fighters also sneaked past radar to join the initial attack. Then high-flying aircraft, some launching missiles from far off, jammed or confused enemy radar and took out some anti-aircraft guns, interceptor planes and airfields. Finally, when a path was cleared, bombers and fighter-bombers attacked at lower altitudes for greater accuracy.

Last week it all worked. After the first raids, U.S. and allied planes pounded targets throughout Kuwait and Iraq around the clock, not so much in waves as in a steady stream. Drawing targets from a 600-page daily computerized assignment book, they were concentrating at week's end on missile sites, command and control units, troop complexes and artillery sites. They also hit Baghdad again before dawn Saturday, knocking out the city's electricity and water and destroying the central telecommunications facility. By Sunday they had flown more than 4,000 sorties (one plane

flying one mission). About 80% were said to have been effective; most of the other 20%, U.S. briefing officers said, were unable to identify their targets well enough to avoid civilian injuries.

Yet casualties among the allied airmen were phenomenally light: six U.S., two British, one Italian and one Kuwaiti plane downed as of early Sunday; nine American crewmen, four British, two Italians and one Kuwaiti officially listed as missing in action (some surely were killed). Iraqi anti-aircraft fire was in some cases heavy, but inaccurate, and few planes rose to challenge the attackers.

Still another theory was that Saddam might be deliberately saving some of his aircraft and missiles to strike back later. If so, it was a risky strategy. For example, the Iraqi dictator might have been able to save many of his planes by hiding them in hardened underground bunkers; the U.S. has been bombing those bunkers, but is uncertain how many of the planes inside them it has been able to destroy. According to a White House official, it hardly matters, "because now they can't take off. We've cratered almost all the runways." Later assessments, though, were that a significant part of the Iraqi air force had escaped to bases in the north of the country, from which they could still rise to join the fight. In any case, Saddam had enough missiles left to pose a major political, if not military, threat.

POPGUN RETALIATION

From the very first, the Iraqi dictator had loudly proclaimed that an important strategy for winning a war was to strike Israel, probably with missiles releasing clouds of poison gas. The idea was to goad Jerusalem into striking back, thus enabling Saddam to claim that the war now pitted the Arab nation against Israel, its American ally and Arab stooges. His hope was that Egypt and Syria, rather than appear to be fighting in defense of Israel, would pull out of the anti-Iraq coalition or switch sides, and even Saudi Arabia would come under heavy pressure to end the battle.

The U.S. took the threat seriously enough to beg Israel in advance not to launch a pre-emptive attack. Washington promised in return to make the Scud missiles in western Iraq, the ones targeted on Israel, a primary target of the first alliance bombing raids. They were hit, and hard, at the start of the war. As the first 24 hours ticked by without an assault, hope grew that Saddam had been prevented from trying his cynical gambit.

No such luck. Early Friday morning, air-raid sirens went off through much of Israel. The government radio ordered all citizens to don the gas masks that had been distributed earlier and move into the sealed rooms that every household had been urged to prepare. Then blasts began rocking Tel Aviv and Haifa. Early reports said at least one missile warhead had re-

leased nerve gas and that a hospital in Tel Aviv was receiving gassed victims.

Not so. By Israeli count eight Scuds hit Tel Aviv, Haifa and the Ramallah area on Friday, but none released gas. They injured about a dozen people but killed no one. Four elderly Israelis and a three-year-old girl, however, either suffocated inside gas masks that had been improperly adjusted or died of heart attacks. Despite the fatalities, that amounted to a popgun attack in contrast to the kind of assault Israel and

the U.S. had feared Saddam would mount.

Washington and London immediately began a strenuous effort to persuade Israel not to retaliate, and the Arab allies not to abandon the coalition if it did. The U.S. stepped up its aerial search for Scud missiles that could be fired from hard-to-locate mobile launchers. Most if not all the Scuds launched from fixed sites—that is, silos—were believed to have been taken out in the first attack. Within hours, American planes had destroyed six of the truck

The Dangerous Dinosaur

Weapons experts are quick to point out the deficiencies of the Scud missile. It is unwieldy and inaccurate, practically antique, a dinosaur compared with the sleek and precise Tomahawk cruise missile. But clumsiness can still be dangerous—as Israel discovered when a dozen Scuds came galumphing into Tel Aviv and Haifa last week. Designed by the Soviets to deliver nuclear warheads over a short range, the Scud can miss its mark by as much as a mile. It is most effective against large cities, where the goal is not to hit a specific target but to terrorize the population. During the Iran-Iraq war, Baghdad and Tehran fired Scuds into each other's urban centers, killing hundreds of civilians.



A mobile Scud: Soviet made from a Nazi original

No one outside Iraq knows for certain how many Scuds Saddam Hussein had in his arsenal before war broke out last week. Estimates run between 500 and 800. Baghdad possessed as many as 32 fixed launchers in silos and at least 36 mobile ones mounted on huge eight-wheel trucks. After the first air raids, most fixed launchers were destroyed, but some 15 mobile Scuds survived. It takes about five hours to prepare a Scud for use.

The 37-ft.-long Scud traces its lineage to a 1940s design for the V-2 rocket, which the Nazis propelled into London in the waning days of World War II. NATO dubbed it the SS-1A Scunner.

code-named Scud for short. The Scud-A evolved into the larger and longer-range Scud-B. By the early 1980s, the Soviets had begun phasing out Scuds in favor of the more versatile SS-23 surface-to-surface missile. However, Moscow did not stop selling the old workhorse. As a Soviet client, Baghdad took deliveries of the ballistic missile and improved on its range, extending the Scud-B's maximum reach of 175 miles to 390 miles for the Al Hussein model and 540 miles for the Al Abbas.

Last week's attack was not Israel's first brush with Scuds. Toward the end of the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, Egypt fired three Scud-Bs at targets in the Sinai and at the battlefield, inflicting little damage. In the ongoing conflict, however, the violently wayward Scud is invested with new menace by Iraq's chemical-warfare potential.

Why didn't Iraq arm its Scuds with poison gas during its attacks on Israel? There are several possible explanations. First, when Iraq waged chemical war on its own Kurdish minority and on Iran, the toxins used were encased in bombs and dropped by aircraft. Baghdad may not have mastered the science of equipping missiles with chemical warheads. Second, the initial Desert Storm air raids may have knocked out the Scuds armed with nerve or mustard gas, as well as possibly halting chemical production. Israel's threat of nuclear retaliation may also have muzzled those missiles. All well and good. But that leaves one unpleasant possibility. Perhaps Saddam Hussein still has poison Scuds—and decided not to use them right away.

The Gulf War



U.S. howitzers heading for the Kuwaiti border and an eventual, probably bloody, ground war

launchers, three with missiles inside. One other Scud missile had been launched earlier against Saudi Arabia, but was blown up in midair by a Patriot antimissile missile. That was another technological triumph, the first known time that an attack missile had been destroyed by a defensive missile in combat.

On Saturday morning three more missiles fell on Tel Aviv. This time 10 people were injured, but again no one was killed.

President Bush and British Prime Minister John Major separately telephoned Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. Bush at 3 a.m. Washington time, to plead again for restraint. After the Israeli Cabinet met in a concrete bunker on Saturday, the government once more assured Washington that it would not retaliate now. The U.S. installed in Israel two batteries of the Patriot antimissiles, manned by American servicemen, the first time the U.S. had participat-

ed directly in Israel's defense. The government said it would see whether that provided sufficient protection.

If not? There was no reason to think that the Israelis could do any better at finding and destroying the remaining Scuds than the U.S. could. But politically the Jerusalem government might not be able to afford appearing to do nothing on its own to protect its citizens. The U.S. hoped that Arab allies would overlook Israeli retaliation if it were on an eye-for-an-eye scale, rather than the traditional hit-you-twice-as-hard assault.

THE NEXT STEP

Whatever is done to and by Israel, the last act of the war is almost certain to be a ground attack on the Iraqi troops and tanks dug in deeply in Kuwait. So far there have been only minor skirmishes on the surface, though one on Saturday yielded the first known prisoners of the war. A dozen Iraqis were captured when the frigate U.S.S. *Nicholas* and some helicopters joined to assault and "neutralize" Kuwaiti drilling platforms in the Persian Gulf that the Iraqis had converted into antiaircraft positions. There were also some exchanges of fire between Iraqis and U.S. Marines across the Kuwaiti-Saudi border and some casualties, but no sizable battles.

The air campaign will continue and perhaps intensify for days or even weeks, employing craft ranging from Apache helicopters to B-52s and all sizes in between.

What Happened to the Body Counts?

Q. General, besides the various installations we have talked about that we're bombing, are we dropping bombs on Iraqi infantry brigades or other troops?

A. [From General Colin Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff] Allow me to duck that for the time being.

Whatever else it accomplished, the outbreak of Operation Desert Storm struck onlookers as a surpassing marvel: a tiptoeing whirlwind, bloodless belligerency. The enormous firepower loosed in air raids on Iraq caused, according to early reports, only a smattering of civilian deaths. If that seemed strange, the sense of unreality was heightened by the release of videotapes taken by U.S. Stealth fighters over Baghdad. Images of laser-guided bombs sailing slap on target into a ventilation shaft, followed by the building's soundless obliteration, produced the feel of combat found in a Nintendo game.

An antiseptic war? Or was the surgical face of battle, 1991 style, a mask over the familiar maw of death? The high command of the U.S.-led alliance offered few insights. In a press conference the day after Desert Storm was launched, General Powell repeatedly declined to estimate casualties. As far as Iraqi civilians went, his reluctance seemed justified: impossible to tell from the air, casualties could be gauged only by Iraq's own, doubtful figures (23 deaths in the first wave of assaults, according to preliminary reports in Baghdad) or by the

guesswork of foreign correspondents on the scene. And yet Powell also dodged queries about the toll in Iraqi trenches.

Contrasts with the last television war—Vietnam—could not have been more striking. In that chaotic enterprise, TV watchers were treated to point-blank bloodshed at the dinner table every night. Fighting an insurgency, moreover, meant that the Pentagon could not measure progress by battles won and territory gained—hence the emphasis on Viet Cong body counts. Public skepticism about those inflated numbers surely contributed to today's policy of restraint in the gulf. But war with Iraq produced another reason for downplaying death. Washington does not want to inflame Arab opinion against the U.S. Although he hoped that Iraqis might rise up and overthrow Saddam Hussein, President Bush recognized that Arabs elsewhere are keenly sensitive about the idea of a Western power inflicting heavy casualties on their brethren.

Because those sensitivities might extend to soldiers, spokesmen for the alliance withheld their estimates even of Iraqi military casualties—though two U.S. officials privately described them as "serious" and "major." On the record the vocabulary tends to be technical, even euphemistic. Alliance commanders referred to "collateral damage"—a term meaning dead or wounded civilians who should have picked a safer neighborhood. As the war continues, the facts—if not the official lingo—are certain to get bloodier.



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The Gulf War

Once the U.S. and allied forces have won complete control of the skies—at week's end they were close but not quite there—they are likely to hammer ever harder at such targets as supply lines and troop concentrations.

There is even some hope that the air war might make a ground war unnecessary—that Iraqi troops whose supplies, communications and, in particular, water had been cut off by the air strikes would surrender en masse. But that is a rather wan hope. Says a senior U.S. commander: "It would be marvelous if the Air Force could do it alone, but it has never happened before, and I doubt it will now. Ultimately, this war will be won on the ground."

Massive movements of U.S., British and other troops led to some speculation last week that the ground campaign was about to begin. Once it does start, the battle is expected to last four to eight weeks. And they could be very bloody weeks. Saddam's strategy has always been to exhaust his enemies in a ground campaign, betting

that Iraq will be willing to absorb heavy casualties far longer than the U.S.

The Iraqis have dug in all along the Kuwaiti-Saudi border, constructing trenches and other fortifications, two miles wide in spots, with gaps between designed to lure attackers into channels where they can be subjected to withering cross fire. Some of the trenches can be filled with water; oil can be poured on top of the water and set ablaze. Behind the trenches are mobile reserves and other units, including both tanks and artillery, that can be moved up quickly to fill breaches in the line or counterattack against a breakthrough.

The probable U.S. and allied attack strategy: U.S. and Arab troops may stage frontal assaults to keep Iraqi troops pinned down and launch a secondary thrust along the Persian Gulf coast. But the main assault could be a left hook: an attack around the western tip of Kuwait into Iraq proper, looping back to cut off the dug-in troops. As for tactics, the primary way to breach the fortifications would be simply to try to blast a way through with aerial bombs. If

that does not work, combat engineers would use "line charges"—bombs thrown out on cables to form a string of close-together explosions—to break through obstacles. Tanks fitted with bulldozer blades would then plow a way through craters. Bridges might be thrown across trenches. Artillery would lay down a "box barrage," a three-sided pattern of fire to prevent the Iraqis from attacking U.S. troops moving through a breach in the lines (the breach would be the fourth side of the box).

Would it work? Eventually, almost certainly, given the firepower that U.S. and allied forces can bring to bear on the ground as well as from the air. But at what cost? Nobody can tell. The first stage of the air war was remarkable for its light allied casualties (nobody has any idea what Iraqi casualties are to date). Just maybe, the ground war might be a surprise for the same reason. Or perhaps for exactly the opposite reason. War remains, as ever, an exercise in the unpredictable. —*Reported by Ron Ben-Yishai/Tel Aviv, William Dowell/Saudi Arabia and Jay Peterzell/Washington*

Encounter in a Baghdad Café

The restaurant sits near the banks of the Tigris River, from which fishermen haul out the *masgouf*—the big carp that are cooked over wood fires and served as a local favorite. Our guest, just days before the war, was a young man who had been translating the Iraqi press so that we could understand what the government was telling its people. He arrived a bit late.

As he was seated, his eyes darted around the room, scanning the other guests. He began to perspire and stammer, suddenly making excuses that he had to get back to work.

The reason was soon clear. When the burly man sitting with his back to our table rose to leave, he was quickly surrounded by soldiers assigned as bodyguards. It was Saddam Hussein's son Uday, 27, whose most notable accomplishment in his relatively young life was to have beaten a presidential bodyguard to death with a club.

The young translator had been helpful and relaxed for days, joining us for meals, discussing his hopes and his family's plans. It did not seem to matter that we were citizens of a nation that was headed for war with his country. Nor did it seem to matter to the scores of other Iraqis we encountered: shopkeepers, hoteliers and even the government functionaries minding our comings and goings in Baghdad. The doctors tending the dying, the security people searching our baggage, the smiling three-year-old son of a government official—all were strikingly cordial.

As the war rumbles on, as young Americans and their allies are killed, we will demonize not just Saddam Hussein but all Iraqis. That will be unfortunate because the people of Iraq don't really deserve the leadership they have.

There is in Baghdad the feeling of a huge new Jonestown, with another demented preacher leading his flock to death.



Teatime: there is the feeling of a huge new Jonestown

The isolation is profound. The awareness of the real world limited. The government of Saddam is deeply paranoid. Officials read single events as connected by strands of conspiracies. Even the Information Minister, not part of the most powerful circle around Saddam, worries enough about his welfare to have at his side a guard armed with an AK-47.

These malignant men shun their way to power. They have ruined their country to preserve their might and exorcise the demons loose in their heads. They may sacrifice tens of thousands of Iraqi soldiers in the deathtrap they have built in Kuwait, believing this will make them Arab heroes, not, in effect, the murderers of their countrymen. They imagine everyone as an enemy. Soon everyone will be. —*By John F. Stocks/Baghdad*

THE WEAPONS

High-Tech Payoff

Costly arms face their first combat use—and prove their worth



By ED MAGNUSON

With the largest air armada since World War II poised to strike in the gulf, the Jan. 15 deadline for a potential attack had been the focus of global attention. That raised the question of how, with 100 cruise missiles and more than 1,000

aircraft streaking toward targets in Iraq and Kuwait in the first hours of the war last week, the allies achieved what General Colin Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, described as "tactical surprise." The answer: U.S. superiority in high-tech weaponry had blinded and crippled Iraq's air defenses. The latest generation of electronic warfare had come of age.

"Sophistication has worked heavily in our favor," said Powell's predecessor, Admiral William Crowe, after the military claimed astonishing success. In the more than 1,300 sorties flown during the first 14 hours, only one U.S. and one British aircraft were lost. Iraq's initial feeble response seemed to bear out a prediction by Admiral Sergei Gorshkov, the founder of

CRUISE MISSILES



PURPOSE: Long-range attack
USES: Launched from ships and submarines
DISTINCTION: Can fly under radar; 1,500-mile range
COST: \$1 million

Under a moonless sky over the Persian Gulf, 100 of these missiles initially blasted off from U.S. warships on a 700-mile flight to Iraq. Their TERCOM radar system compared landmarks with prerecorded maps to guide them to their targets. They struck nuclear, chemical and biological facilities.

STEALTH FIGHTER



PURPOSE: Long-range precision bombing
USES: To penetrate air defenses undetected
DISTINCTION: Extremely low radar profile
COST: \$106 million

Taking off from bases in Saudi Arabia, 27 of these single-seat twin-engine planes were the first aircraft to hit such targets as command-and-control centers and fixed Scud missiles. The plane's radar-evading Stealth technology, based on shape and materials, proved highly successful in the gulf.

ELECTRONIC JAMMING



PURPOSE: Confuse or disable enemy radar
USES: Carried by the Navy's EA-6B Prowler, the Air Force's F-4G Wild Weasel, EF-111A Raven and EC-130H Compass Call
DISTINCTION: U.S. has the most advanced systems now deployed
COST: For a Prowler, \$32 million

The latest electronic-countermeasure systems have been placed on new planes as well as some of the oldest in the U.S. inventory. In the gulf war, ECM aircraft were among the first over Iraq and Kuwait, jamming air-defense radars and crimping their ability to detect intruding planes.

the modern Soviet navy, that "the next war will be won by the side that best exploits the electromagnetic spectrum."

The U.S. and its allies achieved success with a mixture of weaponry—some employed in conflicts past, some never before committed to combat. There was risk involved: though the new systems had been frequently tested in development—and sometimes derided for failure to live up to their billing—no one was certain how they would perform under battle conditions. Most of the hardware had been designed for warfare against an enemy like the Soviet Union, which has its own sophisticated arsenal. Several of the weapons systems had only reached the production stage during Ronald Reagan's \$2 trillion buildup. Now, against a less formidable enemy in a very different environment, the

Pentagon was collecting big dividends.

The technological edge had many facets. The Tomahawk cruise missiles, launched from Navy ships and flying no faster than a commercial airliner, used digital-mapping technology to penetrate beneath Iraqi radar and strike within 20 yds. of their targets. The Air Force's F-117A Stealth fighter led the aircraft strikes. Even when their radar detected an F-117A, the Iraqi air-defense weapons could not track it long enough to zero in. Other aircraft, including the F-4G Wild Weasel, launched missiles that homed in on the signals to knock out the emitting facility. That kept the Iraqis from coordinating their SAMs (surface-to-air missiles) and conventional antiaircraft fire.

Some of the F-15E Eagle and F-16 Fighting Falcon attackers released their ordnance from as high as 20,000 ft., well

above the light-caliber Iraqi flak. They, as well as the Navy's F/A-18 Hornets, also delivered laser-guided or other "smart" bombs to their targets.

Not that the arrival of high-tech war has rendered all older, battle-tested weaponry obsolete. Much of the new technology has been mated to older aircraft. Eight-engine B-52 bombers, for example, for three decades the workhorses of the Strategic Air Command, can carry not only nuclear and conventional bombs but also AGM-142As, missiles guided by small jets that permit a launch as far as 55 miles from a target. Striking from bases in Saudi Arabia, the big bombers laid down vast carpets of destruction over numerous targets last week, including positions believed to be held by units of Saddam Hussein's elite Republican Guard. —Reported by Bruce van Voerst/Dhahran

PATRIOT SYSTEM



PURPOSE: Intercept aircraft and missiles

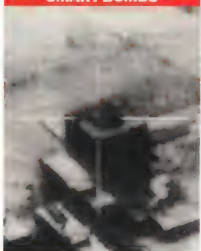
USES: Protection of ground facilities

DISTINCTION: Has remote launchers and high-accuracy missiles

COST: \$123 million

This system won high marks when a U.S. Army Patriot destroyed an Iraqi Scud missile in Saudi Arabia. A Patriot battery has eight launchers with four missiles each. Israel received two batteries in late December, but they were not yet operational. The U.S. dispatched more, including crews, at week's end.

SMART BOMBS



PURPOSE: Precision bombing

USES: Carried by most new fighter-bombers as well as B-52s

DISTINCTION: Permits pilots to release bombs at safe distance from air defenses

COST: Varies widely by type

The success of last week's air strikes was largely owing to the use of "smart bombs." Deployed in many forms, they are guided either by lasers, infrared or TV cameras. In one such system, a crewman can follow images relayed from the bomb and keep it on course toward its target by moving a joystick.

NIGHT-VISION DEVICES



PURPOSE: Light amplification

USES: For aircraft, tanks and infantry

DISTINCTION: Can amplify starlight 25,000 times

COST: \$200,000 for the fighter-bomber version

Night-vision goggles worn by fighter-bomber pilots, including those flying the F-15E Eagle that was used extensively in the gulf strikes, make objects visible at up to seven miles, even on dark nights. The device permits pilots to attack at low altitudes without using radar, which an enemy can detect.

The Gulf War



On guard against euphoria: a few hours before the U.S. aerial attack began, Bush conferred with his Secretary of State

THE WHITE HOUSE

Bush's Biggest Gamble

The President bets his place in history—and, for the moment at least, he looks like a winner

By DAN GOODGAME WASHINGTON



George Bush is the most gregarious of politicians, with little use for solitude or contemplation. So it was odd to see him, at a picnic on the lawn of his vacation home in Maine during his first summer as President, standing apart from the party and gazing somberly out to sea. "Penny for your thoughts?" one guest interrupted. "Oh, I was just remembering," Bush replied softly, "that 45 years ago today, my plane was shot down over the Pacific."

Bush served as the Navy's youngest pilot during World War II, and he harbors few illusions about combat. It is one of the few subjects that can drive him to introspection. Thus last Tuesday, as the world wondered whether Bush would make good on his threat to wage war against Iraq, his friends attached special importance to a highly unusual event. Shortly before dawn that morning, the President took a stroll around the White House grounds. Alone. And though his two Spaniels romped nearby, Bush, his hair still slick from the shower, seemed lost in thought and paid them little attention.

A few hours later, warming himself beside the fire in the Oval Office, Bush scratched his looping signature onto a directive that committed the U.S. to its most lethal conflict since Vietnam. "There was little sense of drama," says a senior official who was present. "There was more a sense of inevitability."

Inevitable because George Bush, who in a long political career had seldom held any inconvenient opinion for very long, had finally found something that he was willing to defend in the face of withering criticism and at a terrible cost in human life. It was the belief that reversing Iraq's aggression could usher in a new world order, one in which the U.S. and its allies would work with a newly cooperative Soviet Union to promote international peace. The normally cautious Bush has gambled his presidency—and his place in history—on the liberation of Kuwait. And, for the moment at least, he looks like a winner.

Bush is too well bred—and too aware of the setbacks that could lie ahead—to put it that crassly. In typically self-effacing style, he confined his assessment of the war's early results to a modest "So far, so good." In remarks delivered during a press conference last Friday, he cautioned that

"war is never cheap or easy" and warned against "euphoria."

Yet his aides say Bush is finding it hard to constrain his own optimism. A senior White House official exults that "no one here dreamed" that U.S. casualties for the first three days would remain in single digits. "It's a source of enormous relief to the President," says the aide—and so were reports that precise U.S. strikes have not killed many Iraqi civilians. As he reviewed plans for the air war, Bush repeatedly insisted that military targets must be struck with minimal damage to nearby neighborhoods, mosques and antiquities.

One of Bush's worst fears, that Iraq would manage to hit Israel with Scud missiles, was realized. But Bush and his lieutenants had engaged in careful diplomacy to prevent Saddam Hussein from splitting the alliance by transforming the conflict into an Arab war against the "Zionist entity." Said an adviser to Bush: "The President was smart to anticipate this problem."

Bush looked both smart and lucky during the week before he launched the war. The ugly intransigence displayed by Iraq's Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz at his Geneva meeting with Secretary of State James Baker helped cement congressional support. Backing for Bush's policy hardened further when Saddam rudely rejected the last-minute appeals of U.N. Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar and the European Community. And while Baghdad had clearly opted for war, Iraq did not attempt a pre-emptive strike against Israel. "This was an incredible series of good breaks for us," says a White House official,

"and the President knew conditions would never be more favorable."

As the battle rages, Bush is determined not to repeat the mistakes of his predecessors. Unlike Lyndon Johnson during Vietnam, Bush says, he will not micromanage the war. When Bush learned on Thursday evening that Iraqi missiles had smashed into Tel Aviv and Haifa, he coolly remained in the White House residence, dining with Environmental Protection Agency Administrator William Reilly and receiving occasional telephone updates rather than rushing back to the Oval Office. Bush says he is thinking through the political and diplomatic pitfalls and opportunities a victory could provide.

He knows that public enthusiasm for the war and his own stratospheric approval ratings could plummet if casualties mount among U.S. soldiers—or if the allies carpet-bomb tens of thousands of Iraqi conscripts. Arab outrage at such slaughter might prove even more explosive. Thus the President has directed the Pentagon to minimize both civilian and military casualties. He declared last week that "once this is over, we will have some very sophisticated diplomacy to do" to show the Arab masses that Saddam's defeat need not be their own. That means, according to a White House official, that "by summer, we need to make a major movement toward progress on the Palestinian question."

Despite Bush's reiteration of his mother's advice to refrain from gloating when things are going well, his political advisers could scarcely restrain themselves last week. Said one: "Strength in national defense and foreign policy is one of the main reasons Americans elected George Bush, and a victory over Iraq will virtually ensure his re-election." Several leading Democrats could be hurt by their opposition to the war, and the party in general risked looking unpatriotic when House Speaker Thomas Foley and Senate majority leader George Mitchell resisted including praise for Bush in a resolution supporting U.S. troops in the gulf.

The White House was hoping that a decisive victory would buoy not only Bush's political fortunes but the entire country as well. Said a Bush aide: "A successful outcome to this war will give us all sorts of opportunities—first of all in national confidence, which is key to economic recovery. We can end the post-Vietnam syndrome that fears involvement abroad. We can have confidence in our diplomacy, our technology, our all-volunteer Army and reserves." By Friday things seemed to be going so well that Bush allowed himself a moment of exultation. During his morning stroll, he carried a hand-held television to follow live reports from the gulf. And later, when TV aired the first footage of successful U.S. air raids, Bush jabbed his index finger at each target on the screen as though silently declaring "Gotcha!" ■

The Presidency

Hugh Sidey

Washington's Calmest Man

Alaska's Senator Ted Stevens last week looked across the Cabinet table at his old friend George Bush and wondered what was going on inside the President. Maybe a trace of fatigue, an extra line or two on his face. But no finger drumming, fidgeting with pencils, gulping of coffee—signs of stress that Stevens had seen in Presidents ever since he first sat in that room almost 40 years ago as a young lawyer in the Eisenhower Administration.

A day before the Iraqi deadline was to run out, Bush was leaning back in his chair listening to the congressional leaders around him, probing each man with his eyes. "If it came to force, when?" someone asked.

"Sooner rather than later," said Bush. Level voice, even soft. No table pounding, but stunning to every person there. They all remembered afterward that the phrase echoed in the silence for a couple of seconds. Stevens knew he had heard the true declaration of war.

Someday, when the memoirs are written, we may learn just when the President resigned himself to war. The evidence we now have suggests it was early in the fall that the pattern of Saddam Hussein's intransigence began to form in Bush's mind. When Bush doubled the American troop commitment in November, he was pointed toward war. Over the Christmas holidays he came to terms with himself. Back at the White House from Camp David, he told his staff, "I have resolved all moral questions in my mind. This is black and white, good versus evil."

When the last-ditch Geneva talks between Secretary of State James Baker and Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz failed, the calmest man in the White House was Bush. Looking out the window of his limousine on a short drive in Washington, he said, "That didn't surprise me a bit."

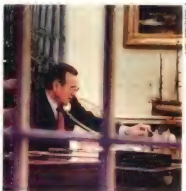
Nor has the progress of the fighting. He has followed it in detail like the CIA boss he once was, but he has never second-guessed or interfered with his military commanders. Days before the U.S. jumped off, Bush wanted to know more about the air assault, the key to the entire operation. He sneaked Air Force Chief of Staff General Merrill McPeak into lunch in the private quarters lest his presence in the Oval Office reveal a fragment or two of the military plan.

All through last week there was a kind of studied normalcy about the President. He moved in his familiar ways. He dropped the quips, and under the tutelage of his political hardballer, Roger Ailes, he made sure that his visage was somber for the cameras. But confined this time to the White House, he was possessed by his characteristic restlessness. He roamed the grounds in the early hours with his dogs. He invaded the basement situation room for more battle details. When Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney brought him the first pictures of the results of the air strikes, Bush, like many others, expressed skepticism. "If those buildings are destroyed," he asked, "why can I still see them?" He was assured there was little left but some walls.

Bush got the idea for a Billy Graham church service at Fort Myer, Va., with military families, sent out the call, and the hawkish evangelist roared in from North Carolina for yet another White House sojourn. Graham has been at it since Eisenhower's time.

The White House apparatus continued to crank out its steady stream of appointments and commemorations. When it was suggested that meetings on topics like education be canceled or abbreviated, Bush refused, shifting gears from battlefield to children's welfare and back again.

In these days when quiet determination and thoroughness are larger virtues than brilliance or eloquence, Bush was at his best. But as he said over and over during the tense hours, "There's a long, tough road ahead for real peace." ■



A kind of studied normality

The Gulf War

THE HOME FRONT

A First Thick Shock Of War

After five months of anxious waiting, Americans respond to the unfolding battle with pride and anger, protests and prayers

By NANCY GIBBS



This was a war with a long fuse. Rarely in the nation's history have so many people had so much time to make up their mind, with so little success. Yet when the moment of decision came, people were left at the mercy of events. America became a vast audience, its disbelief suspended unwillingly. For many, the raw nerves of the restless days before war gave way to relief when the waiting was over, bright hope that it might all end quickly and, finally, a steeled recognition that nothing so fateful could ever be easy.

The coming of war brought a scrapbook of gestures, like snapshots tucked into history. It was a week of yellow ribbons, blood donations, hastily drawn wills. Two frat boys at Oklahoma State kept vigil in a tree house to support the troops in the gulf. A disabled Vietnam veteran paid the Arkansas Flag and Banner Co. \$45 to make him an Iraqi flag so that he could burn it. In Boulder, Army Reservist Christopher Minney married his sweetheart Melonie Walter on Wednesday, as soon as he heard that he would have to report for duty the following day.

That first thick shock of war brought more hymns than marches, as though the nation had matured enough to know that



Rock Falls, Ill.: the day after fighting began, there was a national craving for news that could not be

battle isn't the way it looks in the movies—or even in the strangely antiseptic images of the air war flickering across television screens. Among those Americans who supported the President's actions—a solid majority, according to most polls—there was little gloating or shiny jingoism. Sure, there were exceptions: at Ohio State 100 people marched through Columbus chanting, "Mess with the best; die like the rest." Meanwhile, opponents took to the streets by the thousands, bearing signs splashed with anger: NO BODIES FOR BARRELS and KINDER, GENTLER WAR and THERE IS NO BOOT CAMP FOR WIDOWS. But by and large, even word of the first night's victories was greeted by a graceful restraint and deep sensitivity to the suspense felt by families of soldiers. Until it was over, there would be few celebrations.

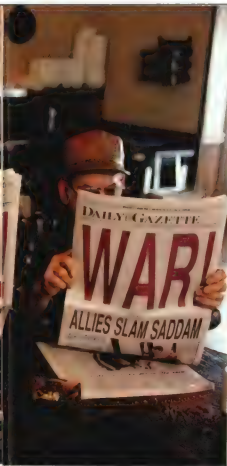
When the week began, the suspense was all consuming. The nation, its houses strung together with phone wires and broadcast beams, had become the vast town common that the inventors of democracy once envisioned. Debate over war and peace unraveled in coffee shops and classrooms, in the streets and during dinner and on the factory floor. Everyone had something to say about the gulf, but few people knew what to think.

Only fear was consensual. Radio talk shows were deluged with speculation

about targets for terrorism. Would the Super Bowl be canceled? Could the reservoirs be poisoned? Is Disney World a target, or the Alaska pipeline, or the New York Stock Exchange, where officials outlawed all fast-food deliveries on security grounds? Business travelers who had planned trips overseas put them on hold; vacationers too decided to wait and see.

Deeply ambivalent and suddenly frightened, many Americans sought comfort in religion. Last week produced a surprising portrait of the nation's faith, a tableau of people praying hard, slipping into chapels for special services during lunch breaks, joining candlelight vigils, seeking moral certainty. On Monday night in Washington, one day before the deadline, parishioners gathered at St. Columba's Episcopal Church. The congregation had been praying especially for one parishioner: Secretary of State Jim Baker. But this night there was a profound sense of despair and futility. "O God the Father, Creator of Heaven and earth, have mercy upon us," went the reading from the *Book of Common Prayer*. "From violence, battle and murder; and from dying suddenly and unprepared. Good Lord, deliver us."

Blocks away, 6,000 people gathered inside the cavernous National Cathedral, sitting on the floor and packing the aisles under the vaulting stone buttresses. After the



satisfied even by the saturation coverage



San Francisco: thousands of demonstrators took to the streets and closed the Bay Bridge

service many worshipers lighted candles and marched silently through the streets of the capital. The vigil wound past the Iraqi embassy, quiet and dark except for a single light, and ended in front of the White House. Susan Meehan, a Quaker, attended on crutches. "Up at the cathedral they told us to fling our prayers to heaven," she said, "so I'm flinging mine—nonviolently."

On Tuesday the tension reached its peak. Jewish congregations around the country began a daylong fast. Demonstrators in Boston poured red paint on the snow, chanting, "No blood for oil." In Los Angeles high school students performed a skit in which American businessmen plucked dollar bills off the bodies of young people. In Providence a George Bush doll was burned in an oil drum. While thousands chanted through the streets, San Francisco's supervisors declared the city a sanctuary for anyone who chose not to participate in the war.

Tuesday marked what would have been the 62nd birthday of Martin Luther King Jr., and in Atlanta the day echoed with irony and anger. The coincidence of timing troubled black leaders, who are acutely aware of the lack of support for war within the African-American community. Organizers of commemorative events had invited General Colin Powell, the first black Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, to be grand marshal of

the celebration, but at the last minute he declined. He was busy in Washington, he explained. "It's like planning for Christmas and then having a member of the family die," observed John Cox, coordinator of events. "You carry on, but the spirit is not the same."

Although few people actually expected an attack just after the Tuesday midnight deadline for war, the nation was awake and waiting. By nightfall in Washington, in the park across from the White House, protesters brought bongos and snare drums and a solitary tom-tom. "Wake up, Bush!" they called. "Don't go to sleep tonight!" The crowd carried fat red Christmas candles and battery-powered ones with flames that don't flicker. By 12:30 a.m. Wednesday many of the regular candles had melted into colored pools of wax on the park's sidewalks. A light sprinkle of rain had begun, but the bombing had not.

Nineteen hours later, the countdown was over. On a Red Line train headed toward the Maryland suburbs, a couple huddled over a portable TV, the sound turned way down. Then the woman gave a sudden cry. "We're at war!" Other passengers rushed over, straining to hear the news, and the woman burst into tears. Her husband turned to explain, "We have a 22-year-old son in the gulf." Meanwhile, at the aptly named Hawk 'n Dove, si-

lence fell over the noisy bar as ABC's Peter Jennings announced that America was "at war." One sharply dressed couple looked down from the TV and then at each other and raised glasses in a quiet toast.

When the news came, people hurried home to be with their families. Church bells began tolling in town after town, and phone lines hummed as friends and families called one another, the conversations beginning in the middle, the premises understood. Americans showed a sudden elasticity of attention span; in bars and pool halls and college common rooms, the television stayed tuned to the news. For the next several hours an entire nation watched anchormen, caught in history's ambush, struggling to tell the story without yet knowing just what it was. There was no time for anything else. In New York City during the next 12 hours, only one person was murdered; a typical night brings at least five dead. Police speculated that even the killers were watching the news.

For all the division, the President's message was received with respect; it was not that Bush had not heard the voices of protest, only that he did not agree with them. Polls showed that 4 out of 5 Americans approved of Bush's handling of the crisis. "I have my troubles with Bush," said John Barber, a merchant banker in Los Angeles, "but in this instance I feel for him, on his solitary

Quality is Job 1.

"Quality means I can go home and
feel good about what I've done."

John Jordan, Welder, Ford Employee for 21 years.

Profile in Quality #28: Commitment

John Jordan
realizes that precise
spot welds are
essential when
building a quality car.

John is one of
over 366,000 Ford
people worldwide
who are committed
to making quality
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Our goal is to build
the highest quality
cars and trucks
in the world.



Ford, Mercury, Lincoln, Ford Trucks.

Ford Motor Company

Buckle up — together we can save lives.

The Gulf War



Langley, Va.: wives, children and friends of Air Force pilots gathered to watch television and wait for word

walk around the White House lawn or as he calls clergymen to ask for their prayers."

The suspense now over, people struggled to figure out how to behave. Crowds and players at the Orlando Arena, gathered to watch the Magic play the Chicago Bulls, observed a moment of silence, perhaps conscious that this did not seem to be a time for games. MTV played peace songs from the '60s, while KAZY, the hard-rock station in Denver, switched to round-the-clock news. In Manhattan the colorful crowds of Times Square spread like paint beneath the illuminated news ticker above 42nd Street, as bulletins on the attack marched around the building above their heads, one word at a time.

Everywhere, the reports could not come fast enough. There was a national craving for news, despite the saturation coverage, and frustration at the thinness of reports. "I don't think it's going as smoothly as it appears to be," said Andy Ach, a banker in San Francisco. "The news seems so sanitized, it's hard to get a sense of casualties or destruction." The next morning the New York Post, hoarse from a week of war cries (KISS IT GOODBYE! screamed the headline in Wednesday's paper, accompanying a photo of Saddam kissing the ground in Baghdad), contented itself with one black word in thick letters 6½ in. high: WAR! The Wall Street Journal ran a four-column headline, the largest since Pearl Harbor. The Houston Chronicle's editorial opinion was typical of that in the South. Saddam, it said, "asked for the war he has gotten. May his God forgive him; we won't."

For the families of soldiers, it was a time to seek and lend support. The departure of National Guard and Army Reserve units had hollowed out countless communities across the country. Camden, Ala., lost one-third of its police force—two of six officers. In Rock Falls, Ill., the 181 members of the National Guard unit had shipped out the weekend before the conflict began. "So many people used the Guard to supplement their income but never expected to be called," said Carol Siefken, a computer supervisor at the local steel mill. "These are people in their 30s and 40s. Their lives were mapped out. They never expected to be fighting for their country."

In a house across the icy Rock River, Laura Weed looked through her newly assembled wedding album. She was married on New Year's Eve to Tom Root, a local policeman who was just called up. "I have no idea of where he is tonight," she said. "The last thing we talked about was that if he came home with no arms or legs, that if he was turned into a vegetable by chemical weapons, he didn't want to be a burden." She looked at a merry picture of their celebration. "I just married him three weeks ago," she said. "I want 20 more years."

Perhaps the deepest suffering fell to the children, and not only those who had been left behind. Everywhere, the young were struggling to understand the preoccupation of adults, full of questions too often left unspoken. Many feared not only for their safety but also for that of their parents and of children they

did not even know. Zoe Owers, a fifth-grader from Concord, N.H., had tears in her eyes when she learned that the fighting had started. "I'm surprised I can't hear anything," she said. Her mother reassured her that Baghdad was far away. "But I thought bombs made a lot of noise," Zoe replied.

By week's end people grasped for the remnants of routine. Many who had opposed the resort to war found their attitude shifting once it had begun, particularly after the attack on Israel. Betsy Loth, who owns two clothing stores in Watertown, Conn., happily put up peace-rally posters in her stores earlier in the week. But on Thursday morning she took them down. "It's not of my choosing, but we're in a full-fledged war. We should get on with it." Of Bush, she said, "I can't stand the man, but I think he did enough."

Images of past encounters in the Middle East—of helicopters flaming in the Iranian desert in 1980, of a smoldering Marine barracks in 1983—left many people wondering if any involvement in that explosive corner of the world always meant disaster. But by week's end those images were replaced by footage of Baghdad "lit up like a Christmas tree," as cool young pilots returning from sorties in the night described it. For all the ambivalence, anger and fear, the first week of war assured this country that its military might was mighty indeed; the decision to use it could only have been made with a heavy heart, and hopes that the desert world will soon be sheathed. —Reported by Ann Blackman/Rock Falls, Michael Riley/Washington and Don Winbush/Atlanta

THE CONSEQUENCES

What Kind of Peace?

The allies could win the war but lose out in the region if Saddam's defeat fuels extremism or undermines existing states

By LISA BEYER



World War I led to the Bolshevik Revolution, a power vacuum in Central Europe that was eventually filled by Adolf Hitler, and a British-French carve-up of the Middle East that 72 years later still forms the background for bloodshed. World War II boosted the Soviet Union to the status of a superpower dominating Eastern Europe and challenging the other superpower, the U.S., in a cold war that began almost as soon as the bombs stopped falling. The Korean War ended with U.S. forces stationed approximately on the line along which the shooting began. In the almost 38 years that have intervened, no President has found the time to be right for withdrawing those troops.

All of which goes to show that wars almost invariably have consequences that the victors never foresee and certainly do not intend. There is no reason to believe that the war against Saddam Hussein will be any different.

The rosier predictions for the war's aftermath envision a solution to the Palestinian problem and the emergence of new collective security arrangements that would calm the tempestuous region. The darkest prognoses foresee a Lebanon-like partitioning of Iraq and Jordan and a fueling of nationalist and Islamic extremism that would threaten Western interests and perhaps even bring down moderate Arab regimes. The array of possibilities is bewildering even to those who are leading the war effort. "Some sort of planning needs to be done," conceded Defense Secretary Dick Cheney while appearing before the House Armed Services Committee last December. "Everybody's been so busy dealing with the crisis of the moment that there really hasn't been much effort put into longer range focus."

The repercussions of Desert Storm, however, will be far more than a footnote to a glorious chapter of U.S. military history. "The only reason to make war is to make peace at the end," says Mohamed Milhem, an executive-committee member of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Two days before the war, Jordanians demonstrate against the American presence

"If at the end there is instability and no peace, what is the point in making war?" The shape of the postwar order will depend to a great extent on how the various parties embroiled in the conflict survive the cataclysm of the battle.

IRAQ. Early in the gulf crisis, the Bush Administration realized that it would be

unwise to liquidate the country's military altogether. "If Iraq is totally out of the picture," says William Quandt, a Middle East expert at the Brookings Institution, "there is no counterbalance to Iran." At the same time, the U.S. and its allies are determined to wipe out Iraq's weapons of mass destruction and seriously impair its conventional war machine. Reconciling



those two aims requires a delicate balancing act. "You want an Iraq weak enough that it can't threaten the weakest of its neighbors, yet strong enough to deter the strongest of its neighbors," says Les Aspin, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee.

The crucial question of who would rule a defeated Iraq is a black hole of speculation. It is conceivable that Saddam could survive and continue to govern. Though Washington would cheer Saddam's fall, the official mission of Desert Storm is to force him from Kuwait, not from Baghdad. Should Saddam manage to muddle through, Iraq's future would probably look a lot like its recent past: authoritarian, militaristic, confrontational—and perhaps more isolated than ever.

If Saddam does go, finding an acceptable successor will be a formidable challenge. Saddam's shoot-first, ask-questions-never policy of dealing with perceived challengers has eliminated virtually every-

one who knows anything about running the country and is not marred by complicity in his roguery. Neutralizing the many close relatives Saddam has placed in high positions would also be difficult.

While the Bush Administration concentrates mainly on winning a military victory, other nations in the region are keenly interested in the shape of postwar Iraq. The country's three northern neighbors—Syria, Turkey and Iran—may have designs on Iraq. Syria's President Hafez Assad has long claimed to be the sole legitimate leader of the Pan-Arab Ba'ath Party, rival factions of which rule his country and Saddam's. Turkey has historical claims on Iraq's oil-rich Mosul province in the north. And Shi'ite-led Iran could easily justify a land snatch as a means of liberating the Shi'ite majority in Iraq, which is dominated by a Sunni minority. Should moves to sunder Iraq begin, the country's Kurdish minority might rise up to carve its own state out of the north. That, in turn, might

spark a rebellion among Turkey's Kurds.

The partitioning of Iraq would be a tragedy not only for the Iraqis but for the entire Middle East as well. Each of the borders in the region is as arbitrary as the next, and once one frontier is successfully challenged, all the others will be up for grabs. No regime will feel stable, no state secure.

SYRIA. Before the gulf crisis, Hafez Assad was most closely associated in Western capitals with major-league terrorism abroad and savage repression at home. Since he contributed 19,000 troops to the anti-Saddam front, however, Assad has become a comrade-in-arms. President Bush held talks with him last November in Geneva, becoming the first U.S. President since Jimmy Carter, in 1977, to meet with the Syrian leader. Meanwhile, Britain restored diplomatic ties and the European Community resumed economic aid.

The gulf crisis came at an opportune moment for Assad, who has wanted to edge closer to the West anyway since his old patron, the Soviet Union, was no longer able to keep his military outfitted in the style to which he had grown accustomed. Still, Assad has kept his newfound allies at arm's length. While joining forces with the U.S.-led coalition against Saddam, Assad has been careful to maintain his nationalistic credentials within the Arab world by periodically bashing Washington and Israel in his public statements.

The aloofness is mutual, and for good reason: it is not easy to forget Assad's actions, like the 1982 massacre of some 20,000 civilians in the Syrian town of Hama while routing out Muslim fundamentalists, and his sponsorship of terrorists. "Assad's grisly record makes him unfit to serve as anything more than a temporary and tactical ally," says Daniel Pipes, director of the Foreign Policy Research Institute in Philadelphia.

Not everyone agrees. "It's possible that the West can work with Assad to make a better Mideast," says a senior Western diplomat in Damascus. What is not in dispute is the notion that, with or without the West's friendship, Assad would jump at the chance to become the unrivaled leader of the Pan-Arabists following Saddam's fall. Considering Assad's success in asserting Syrian control over Lebanon late last year, his room to maneuver already appears greater than it was before the crisis erupted.

SAUDI ARABIA AND THE GULF STATES.

Once Saddam is defeated—assuming he is—the Saudis and their gulf neighbors will enjoy only momentary relief. Saddam's easy conquest of Kuwait showed how vulnerable Saudi Arabia is to aggression, a weakness that must be redressed.



An Israeli anti-aircraft battery: Jerusalem will face new pressures from Washington

Some improved arrangement for collective security is sure to be worked out, possibly within the framework of the Gulf Cooperation Council, created in 1981 to promote economic integration in the region. But even if Saudi Arabia and the gulf states pool their resources, they will remain weak. Egypt could, in exchange for vast infusions of aid, agree to field large numbers of troops to help defend these countries.

Egypt's help, however, will not be enough. Security arrangements with the U.S. will undoubtedly be strengthened. As in the past, King Fahd and the gulf Emirs will seek to make those ties as invisible as possible. There may be more ships just off the coast; large caches of American tanks, planes and weaponry will probably be maintained in the event that U.S. troops must return in massive numbers.

gious hard-liners would resist such moves, perhaps violently, thereby adding to the pressure on the Saudi royal family.

ISRAEL AND THE PALESTINIANS.

Both have much to win and much to lose in the gulf confrontation. Israel's gain would be the defeat and containment of its strongest Arab foe. Its loss—at least in the eyes of many citizens—would be heightened pressure, from the U.S. among others, to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict by giving the Palestinians a homeland. If that does not happen, the Palestinians, having lined up behind Saddam Hussein, will find themselves poorer, weaker and more alienated than ever before.

While Palestinian support for Saddam confounds many Americans, the U.S. may have no choice but to seriously address their plight soon after the liberation of Ku-

wait. Reason: the U.S. will owe at least that much to its Arab allies, who, though infuriated by the Palestinians' crowing for Saddam, remain publicly committed to the idea of a Palestinian homeland.

JORDAN. King Hussein's worst fear is that Iraq and Israel will use his country as their battlefield. The most dangerous threat is that Israel will fly through Jordanian airspace to retaliate for Iraqi missile strikes. Hussein has vowed to repulse any intrusion, but that would draw him into a conflict in which he has nothing to gain. Even if Jordan manages to stay out of the



KING FAHD

Closer ties with the U.S. and any moves toward greater political openness may invite a backlash from the religious right in puritanical Saudi Arabia.



HOSNI MUBARAK

Because he has stood so resolutely with the West, the Egyptian President may become a target of coup plotters and terrorists.



KING HUSSEIN

Jordan could be buffeted by internal divisions, reverberations from a failure to resolve the Palestinian question and economic collapse, threatening the monarch's rule.



YASSER ARAFAT

Even though they sided with Saddam, the Palestinians could finally wind up with a homeland. If they do not, the forces of extremism will rock the already shaky P.L.O.



HAFEZ ASSAD

Syria's President will rush to fill Saddam's shoes as the paramount Pan-Arabist, and his new friendships with the West might help him achieve his ambition.

In bolstering those ties with foreigners, the gulf and Saudi rulers must carefully balance external threats with internal ones. Even the smallest step toward the Western camp risks a backlash from the religious right, especially in puritanical Saudi Arabia. From the beginning of the gulf crisis, there have been ominous rumblings in the Saudi mosques—and indeed throughout the Muslim world—about the apostasy of having infidels defend the country that is host to Islam's holiest places. There could be increased demands on the oil sheikdoms to share more of their wealth with poorer states in the region.

A related worry is that the presence of Western forces has encouraged local proponents of democracy to press gently for more openness. The progressive reforms expected in a liberated Kuwait will bring still more pressure on the Saudis. Reli-

gious hard-liners would resist such moves, perhaps violently, thereby adding to the pressure on the Saudi royal family.

The prospects for progress are small, given Jerusalem's strong opposition even to discussing the idea of withdrawing from the occupied West Bank and Gaza, much less allowing a Palestinian homeland. The U.S., whose \$3 billion annually in aid accounts for 7% of Israel's GNP, could bring definitive pressure on Jerusalem to relent, but the Palestinians do not expect that to happen.

If the Palestinians feel let down again, they will almost certainly become still more militant. Among the likely results are an aggravation of international terrorism and more bloodshed in the occupied territories. Already the moderate elements of the

actual fighting, there are other possibilities for its destabilization. Aggravated by the gulf conflict, tensions between the country's Palestinian majority and Bedouin minority, to which the King belongs, could spark an uprising.

Many Palestinians are concerned that Israel will use a war to expel thousands of them, though this is unlikely unless Israel and Jordan become involved in a major conflict. Some Israeli right-wingers have long advocated the creation of a Palestinian homeland in Jordan. The current government realizes that wholesale deportations would inflame world opinion. But should they occur nonetheless, they would provoke unrest on the east bank of the Jordan River.

The failure to deal with the Palestinian problem could likewise stir rebellion in Jordan. Even if Hussein weathers such storms,

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†Contents based on latest available information at press time.

The Gulf War

America Abroad

Strobe Talbott

An Ally Deserves Better

ANKARA

An aide whispers to President Turgut Ozal that his Prime Minister and senior military advisers have arrived, no doubt to discuss the latest American request for the use of Turkish bases in the attack on Iraq, now only hours away. "Let them wait a moment," says Ozal. "The war is important, but so is the nature of the peace that comes after."

Ozal calls for an atlas and opens it to a map of the region. "Look where we are and what is going on around us," he says. As he traces the boundary of his country's giant neighbor to the north, Ozal reaches with his other hand into his pocket and pulls out a string of jet-black worry beads.



Turkey's Ozal: looking for closer ties

No wonder. The immediate menace of Iraq may soon be eliminated, but the disintegration of the Soviet Union will be an ugly fact of global life for a long time to come. Last week's focus of anxiety was the Baltics, but passions for secession and instincts for repression run at least as deep in the Transcaucasus and Central Asia. Much of the population there is Muslim and speaks languages closely related to Turkish.

"As the Russian system of empire collapses and new structures take its place," says Ozal, "we can serve as a counter to the influences of religious extremism coming up from here"—he points to Iran—"and from here"—he indicates the Arabian Peninsula. He believes he has persuaded the Kremlin, through its former Foreign Minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, that "Turkey can play a stabilizing role inside the U.S.S.R."

Then he gestures from Pakistan to Algeria: "In all these countries, too many people have too little hope." Hence their susceptibility to Islamic fundamentalism as well as the kind of anti-Western militancy Saddam Hussein personifies but by no means monopolizes. Both those threats, Ozal warns, will survive the present conflict, and they will grow worse if the poor and the helpless feel that the rich and the powerful have prevailed again.

This crisis-prone, autocracy-ridden area needs a model to emulate in the coming period of postwar reconstruction and realignment. Arab victors and vanquished alike will need in their midst an Islamic country that, whatever its faults, is a secular state with a democratic political system, a market-oriented economy and close security ties to the West. Turkey is not just the best candidate—it's the only candidate.

Yet Turkey has too often been snubbed or patronized by its more prosperous NATO allies, whose interests it defends and to whose company it aspires. A year ago, the European Community fended off Turkey's bid for membership. In 1993, when the E.C. is again open to outsiders, Turkey should be at the front of the line.

For decades, large Greek- and Armenian-American lobbies in the U.S. have frequently let grievances against the Turks go back to the days of the Ottomans get in the way of sound policy, common sense and simple fairness. Congress has insisted on apportioning military aid to Greece and Turkey by a rigid and arbitrary formula that links the two, even though geography has assigned Turkey a far more active and vital mission on the front line of international peacekeeping.

Ozal was one of the founders of the coalition against Iraq. Last week his government agreed to let the U.S. conduct bombing strikes as well as search-and-rescue missions from Turkish bases. For its staunchness in this crisis, Turkey will not only want new respect and lasting acceptance—it will deserve them. ■

the Jordanian economy has been wrecked by the cutoff of trade with Iraq prescribed by U.N. sanctions; the specter of the 1989 riots prompted by government austerity measures still looms large.

As much as the King is cursed among Saddam's opponents for his neutrality in the gulf conflict—often miscast as support for Baghdad—the probable alternatives to his rule would scarcely suit their interests. Among the leading contenders would be a radical Palestinian administration or a fundamentalist regime.

THE U.S. In swatting one obnoxious troublemaker in the person of Saddam Hussein, the U.S. runs the real risk of seeing others take his place. To whatever extent it may seem irrational to Western minds, Saddam has made himself a hero to many Arabs by confronting the West and Israel—no matter how corrupt and selfish his motives. Thus smiting the Iraqi leader could make him a martyr and fertilize the ground for his successors, who would do their best to thwart U.S. interests in the region.

"The new ideology of the Middle East is anti-Americanism," says Asad Abdul Rahman, a political scientist at Jordan University. "Regimes that are seen as nothing but stooges of the Americans could be toppled. That could be coupled with all kinds of violence, anti-American acts, the establishment of radical regimes." Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak is considered particularly exposed because he has allied himself so closely with the U.S. Says Amos Perlmutter, a political scientist at American University in Washington: "Mubarak will be in the cross hairs of every terrorist."

Much will depend on how Washington behaves in the aftermath of war. A quick withdrawal of American forces would give the lie to a loony, but widespread, Middle East conspiracy theory: that the U.S. provoked the gulf crisis—actually encouraged Saddam to invade Kuwait—in order to colonize the region. The degree to which Washington pressures Israel to withdraw from the occupied territories and, ultimately, give the Palestinians a homeland will also determine the level of American credibility in the region.

However skillfully the U.S. and its allies manage their expected victory, the Middle East will not soon overcome the violence and instability that have plagued the region for the better part of this century. But the coalition must make every effort to turn the momentum of battlefield success into lasting political solutions. For the worst of the end-game scenarios will be avoided only if a new peace is sought as aggressively as the war was fought. —Reported by Jan D. Hall/Jerusalem, Scott MacLeod/Amman and Christopher Ogden/Washington



The Gulf War

SADDAM AND THE ARABS

The Devil in the Hero

Iraq's leader may be a blood-drenched tyrant, but for many he is nonetheless a symbol of dignity, unity and self-reliance

By LANCE MORROW



The figure of Satan flickers through the rhetoric of the Middle East. The Arabic language likes to inflate politics with supernatural meanings: a mere mortal enemy—George Bush, for example, or the West—may be transformed into the Great Satan. The phrase has moral and dramatic clarity. It is a bright blade of denunciation flashing on a battlefield of absolutes. But it is difficult for Arabs to use such a weapon against a mortal friend—against a brother.

What are Arabs to do with Saddam Hussein? What are they to think if they see the devil in the hero, the thug tricked up as a Pan-Arabist dreamer? In considering Saddam, many Arabs are sorting out complexities in themselves. They are formulating an attitude toward their collective past and future, toward the Arabs' place in the world. The exercise does not leave them entirely happy.

Many Arabs despise Saddam, condemn his invasion of Kuwait and welcome the co-

alition's war against him. They know that in his blood-drenched career, Saddam has acted truly, not metaphorically, satanic. It is reported, credibly, that in the evening, before bed, he has been in the habit of watching a video of an execution that he ordered, preferably one carried out that day. He is apparently conscienceless, a murderer of Caligulan whimsy. In August 1979, during a purge of his Baath Party, Saddam arranged this scene, reported by a former Iraqi Cabinet member: "The party officials were handed machine guns. One by one the guards brought in the accused, their mouths taped shut, and their hands bound. Saddam asked everyone to start shooting. At least 21 were killed, and every victim received at least 500 bullets in his body."

But Saddam also represents the yearnings of the Arab people: a defiant assertion of dignity, unity and honor. He has given fierce expression to the emotions of many Arabs on matters that mean the most to them: opposition to foreign domination, the achievement of a kind of moral parity with the West, just distribution of Arab oil wealth, settlement of the Palestinian problem, the purity of Islam. He leads the

Baath Party, whose name means renaissance. So powerful are these emotions that millions of ordinary Arabs, from factory workers to university professors, are willing to tolerate Saddam's otherwise evil performance—his despotism that permits no freedom, his sacrifice of thousands of young lives to advance his ambitions, even his use of chemical weapons against his own people.

In a universe of sometimes incapacitating grievance, a practical Arab future opening onto a larger world, onto a new century, may be more difficult to imagine than a romantic past. The past has a powerful, seductive glory. It seamlessly encloses itself within fundamentalist Islamic virtue. It mobilizes the mind for a classic conflict of Islam vs. the West, that historical cliché—the sword of Islam against the last crusade.

To cast Saddam merely as a gangster is to misunderstand not only why he invaded Kuwait but also why he has gained so much popular support among the "Arab masses." Saddam's propaganda variously portrays him as Nebuchadnezzar, the Babylonian King who destroyed Jerusalem in



Demonstrators carry portrait of Saddam Hussein during pro-Iraq rally in Amman

the destruction of the enemies of Saddam Hussein. Ahmad Oweidi Abbadi, chairman of the Jordanian National Front, a member of Parliament and chief of one of the largest nomadic tribes in the country, quotes the prophecy with a glare in his hawkish eyes. "We Arabs are proud of our dignity," he says. "Saddam talks about the things we feel. The U.S. will win the battle but lose the war. Both Arab Christians and Muslims want a jihad against America, against the U.K. and the Jews. The citizens of every nation fighting against Iraq will be in danger—those with blue eyes and a red face. You Westerners are keen to live. We are keen to die because we go to paradise. As the U.S. destroys Iraq, it will give birth to the jihad that will destroy the West."

Arabs cling to their spiritual distinctiveness: it gives them, they think, a metaphysical edge in the long haul. Morawid M. Tal, brother of the assassinated (by Black September) Jordanian Prime Minister Wasfi Tal, says, "Saddam is a Muslim fatalist, though he is a secular Arab and a nationalist. You in the West believe man can shape his destiny. We in Islam believe God controls our destinies."

In the Arab countries where support for Saddam is strongest, U.S. embassies have been drawn down to skeleton staffs. Saddam's strongest support is in Jordan, with its majority Palestinian population and a powerful fundamentalist movement. Western diplomats are worried that the U.S. embassy in Amman could be torched and American citizens in the kingdom targeted for terrorism or violence. There is growing concern that King Hussein might be unable to control the streets of his capital.

Yemen and Sudan have recently tried to distance themselves from Saddam, but there is substantial popular support for him in both countries. The radicalism and fundamentalism sweeping through the politics of the Maghreb have put Americans at some risk in Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco. Mauritania, where Saddam has test-fired missiles in the past, is considered dangerous territory for U.S. citizens. Ironically, of the five Maghreb nations, only Libya appears to be relatively safe for Americans, most of whom live and work, in violation of U.S. government regulations, in oil fields far from urban centers.

Apart from Jordan, with its pronounced Palestinian coloration, most of the Arab countries where Saddam has popular support are economically impoverished and tending toward political radicalism.

In the Arab nations backing the coalition, sentiment is mixed. In Syria, Saddam is believed to have widespread support—despite the brute personal animosity toward Saddam that moved President Hafez Assad to join the anti-Saddam alliance. As-

587 B.C., or as Saladin, the Kurdish warrior who fought off the Crusaders.

Saddam also fancies himself as an Arab version of Otto von Bismarck. In Europe more than 100 years ago, the Iron Chancellor fused German-speaking principalities into one mighty nation. Saddam remembers as well his patron Gamel Abdel Nasser, who organized Arab pride and resentment against Western hegemony. Saddam's ambition has been to use Iraqi muscle and achievement to unite the Arabs and thereby re-create the vast Abbasid Empire, which lasted 500 years. In that sense, the war in the gulf is transpiring in a time warp. It is a retrospective vision.

Centuries of foreign domination have left Arabs with a sense of violation, of second-class status. When communism collapsed in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the feeling of vulnerability deepened. Arabs found themselves without strategic allies to help them counter Israel's—and, by extension, America's—power. George Bush's new world order did not seem to promise much for the Arabs, who militarily remain weaker than Israel. Saddam's answer—standing up to the world's only superpower—thus struck a chord within the Arab psyche.

"We all hate Saddam," explains an Iraqi woman. "But it was you, the United States, that made us support him when you sent your troops to Arab soil to attack an Arab country." An Arab diplomat says, "He anticipated and welcomed some U.S. reaction. That's part of his strategy for making himself bigger. When you have a strong enemy, that makes you stronger."

With a certain brutal genius, Saddam

has worked three Arab themes: poverty, Palestinians and piety. The Aug. 2 heist of Kuwait harmonized with the profound resentments that many Arabs harbor in regard to the oil sheiks. "People do not like the Kuwaitis," a Cairene named Mohammed Fawzy said last week. "The Kuwaitis are always in the nightclub and casino. All they think about is money. They think they can buy anything." The mass of Arabs recoil from the injustice of oil wealth that buys Scotch and an opulent life for the sheiks' Cairo holidays during Ramadan and leaves so many of their brothers in poverty and squalor. A Moroccan journalist remarks, "I don't care if he is a fascist. At least he doesn't gamble and chase women." Many Arabs admire Saddam for his *hazem*, a sort of relentless strictness, although the image is at odds with a more secular impression that Iraq made until Saddam began shading his nation and himself toward fundamentalism. Last week, in a gesture of piety and defiance, Saddam ordained that *Allahu akbar* (God Is Great) should be sewed into the Iraqi tricolor flag.

Saddam appeals to an obscure, almost magic sense of inevitability among some Arabs. Jordanians last week were recalling a popular but apocryphal tale that contains a prophecy. It is written that the Bedouin of Arabia, together with the Franks (Westerners) and Egypt will gather in the desert against a man called Saddam (sic), and they will all be killed, and none will escape. This will happen between the second half of December and the second half of February.

Many Arabs believe the text predicts



Kuwaiti fighter jets ready for battle: a surprising sympathy for Israel

The Political Interest

Michael Kramer

A View from Exile

The news that Kuwait had lost its first fighter-bomber in the air campaign against Iraq reached Ali al-Khalifa al-Sabah as he drove into central London, his first stop en route to the headquarters of Kuwait's government-in-exile in Taif, Saudi Arabia. "That's war," said the Kuwaiti Finance Minister with a slight shrug, "and the pilot was a warrior. This was not the worst. The worst part has been the indiscriminate murder of innocent civilians by the Iraqi occupiers in Kuwait."

Three hours later, at 1 a.m., Khalifa was sipping Scotch and chain-smoking Kent cigarettes when the *ABC* announced that a different population of innocent civilians had just been attacked by Saddam Hussein: Israel had been hit by Iraq's Scud missiles. "That bastard!" screamed Khalifa. "We are trying so hard to hit only military targets, and Saddam goes after civilians. He says he is fighting to liberate Palestine, and then he sends inaccurate missiles into Israel, where Arabs live close to Jews. I tell you, he is both insane and evil. He must die."

What Khalifa said next was even more surprising. "For a long time, I have not understood why the Israelis would hunt down Nazis more than 40 years after the fact. Well, I understand now—and this I swear: If Saddam survives and the Israelis later want to go after him, we will do everything we can to help them."

Khalifa had visited Hafez Assad two weeks earlier, and Syria's President had assured him that he not only expected Israel to respond if attacked, but that he would quietly applaud an Israeli retaliation and would do nothing to impede an Israeli strike against Iraq. "So many in the West just don't realize that Saddam really is hated by most Arabs, and this has always been so," insists Khalifa. "Those who support him are few. You exaggerate his support because those who think he is a god are so vocal."

And then Khalifa told a story. At a meeting of Arab leaders in Morocco in 1982, Saddam turned to Assad and said, "Wouldn't you like to see me hanging from a lamppost in Damascus?" According to Khalifa, Assad smiled broadly and replied, "Of course—and wouldn't you like to see me hanging from a lamppost in Baghdad?"

Even before Iraq's attack on Israel, Khalifa dismissed the conventional wisdom regarding the Middle East's postwar future. To those who assume that the U.S. will pressure Israel to sanction an international conference designed to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Khalifa says simply, "They have got it backwards. It is we and the Saudis and the Egyptians who owe Bush, not the other way around. He may want to move for a conference, but if he doesn't, we will not seek to force it. Few of us will ever again have any time for Yasser Arafat. We will not fund him as we have in the past, and eventually he will be a goner. Maybe then a more moderate Palestinian leadership will emerge, and progress will be possible. But I caution all those experts who pop on TV every few minutes: Don't hold your breath."

sad's ruthless secret police keep popular support for Saddam muted.

Much of Egypt's vast population of 55 million survives barely above the level of subsistence and would seem an ideal constituency for Saddam. Yet notwithstanding the presence of radical and fundamentalist sentiment, his appeal there is limited. One reason is the bitter experience of thousands of Egyptian laborers maltreated in Iraq at the hands of their employers; hundreds are believed to have been killed. Another reason may be the strong leadership of Hosni Mubarak. By supporting the U.S. and Saudi Arabia against Saddam, Mubarak won considerable financial benefits. Both nations have forgiven billions in Egyptian debts, for example.

In addition, by stirring up trouble in the Middle East, Saddam has been a disaster for the Egyptian tourist trade, an immense business and an important source of income. "He is a very bad man," says the manager of an elegant furniture store in a Cairo bazaar. "It is not a way to act, for one Arab brother to attack another, as Saddam attacked Kuwait. If everybody did this, what would our region be like?" A woman who claims to be one of only two female licensed cabdrivers in Egypt is blunt about Saddam: "He is a very dirty man. He is destroying everything." Then she hurries home to watch the latest episode of *Falcon Crest*, which is a popular Western intrusion in the life of Cairo.

In the gulf states, sentiment in favor of Saddam is scarce. Complaints about the local rulers' opulence and corruption are endemic, but people still regard Saddam as a much greater threat to their well being than kings and emirs.

Virtually all Arabs feel a kind of residual kinship with Saddam because of their common cultural ties. But they react to him in markedly different ways. In their profound and continuing frustration, many of the Palestinians are instinctively attracted to Saddam. That seems odd in at least one way: the Palestinians might be expected to sympathize more with the Kuwaitis, as Arabs displaced from their homeland. Instead, most identify with Saddam's aggressions and his determination to get even with Israel.

The future of Saddam probably depends upon two factors: 1) how long the war goes on, and 2) whether, or how, Israel becomes involved. In a short war, Saddam in Arab psychology might be dispensable—a humiliated failure when the Arab cause needed a triumphant hero, not a martyr. But if the battle is prolonged, if Arab casualties mount, if television cameras show the bodies of Iraqi civilians blasted by American bombs, then Arabs will recoil in even greater anger from the U.S. and the others in the coalition. Even in defeat, Saddam could emerge stronger still.

—Reported by David Aikman/Cairo and Scott MacLeod/Amman



Author Ann Martin has put together a winning formula—and a fortune—with her best-selling series for young readers



Adventures in Baby-Sitting

A special club provides must-read literature for preteen girls

By JANICE C. SIMPSON

The Bobbsey Twins and Nancy Drew were too boring. And Trixie Belden? She was just plain dorky. But then Rebecca Langlois, a Dallas sixth-grader, discovered Kristy, Claudia, Mary Anne and Stacey. As just about every girl between eight and 12 knows, those are the founding members of the Baby-Sitters Club and the hottest fictional characters with today's preadolescent literary set. "They're funny and exciting, and the adventures they go through are stuff that can happen in real life," says Langlois, 12. She heads for the bookstore the minute the latest installment arrives.

That kind of devotion has sold more than 41 million copies of Baby-Sitters books since the series, which now runs to 40 volumes, began in August 1986. About 6 million copies of a companion series, Baby-Sitters Little Sister, for slightly younger readers, have been snatched up in just two years. Now the spin-offs are descending. Baby-Sitters calendars and school planners are already on the market, as are two videos. Milton Bradley sells a Baby-Sitters board game, and Remco Toys plans a new line of Baby-Sitters dolls, complete with a closetful of outfits and tiny tots to tend.

Baby-Sitters was the brainchild of Jean Feiwel, editor in chief at Scholastic Inc., which publishes juvenile books. She noticed that tales with the word baby-sitter in the title sold well to young girls eager for their first taste of grownup responsibility. The club members—now totaling seven—and their experiences in fictional Stonybrook, Conn., were created by Ann M. Martin, a former schoolteacher and children's book editor. Scribbling on yellow

pads from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. daily, the 36-year-old author, who lives in Manhattan with her cats Mouse and Rosie, turns out a 150-page Baby-Sitter book and a 100-page Little Sister volume almost every month.

Librarians give the books mixed reviews. Some find the plots predictable and the prose pedestrian, but others praise the series for attracting children who aren't always comfortable with books. "The reading level is pretty simple, and that's very important in my library, where English is a second language," says Janet Campano, who works at the Chinatown branch of the New York Public Library.

But Martin's main strength is her ability to tap into the ways young girls think and feel about life. Her stories explore the spectrum of preteen challenges from sibling rivalry and peer pressure to the death of a grandparent and the arrival of a new step-parent. Divorce is a fairly constant theme.

"That's on the minds of kids a lot," Martin says. The books also touch on issues of race and ethnicity. Baby-Sitter Claudia, for example, is Asian and a talented artist, but she has trouble academically. "We wanted to defy the stereotype that every Asian is brilliant," says Feiwel.

There are still taboo subjects, however: Martin has avoided writing about drugs, sex and child abuse. "I think these topics are a little heavy for younger readers," she explains. Some kids like it that way. Such topics "would ruin the books," says Kathy Ames, 14, a Wyckoff, N.J., ninth-grader and a devoted fan. But others aren't so sure. "If these girls were real, they'd probably already be offered drugs and have to deal with it," says Langlois. Sounds like a new assignment for the Baby-Sitters. ■

Unloved Ones

A DANGEROUS WOMAN

by Mary McGarry Morris

Viking; 358 pages; \$19.95

Martha Horgan is at once the most irritating and engaging character to inhabit a novel in a long time. Born without the protective scrim that allows the rest of us passage through the world, she is so excited by an invitation to a *PlastiqueWare* party that she burns a hole in her scalp with a curling iron, overdresses in a turquoise dress with red pinwheels and laughs a beat late and a beat too long at all the jokes. She hopes that if she buys the most expensive item, she will finally win the affection of Birdy, the only person in town who will put up with her. Instead, when the deluxe set of freezer containers is bought by another guest, Martha tears her cheek into confetti and flees to the bathroom.

Life is a party to which the thirty-something Martha has not been invited. Raised by her father on the estate where he worked as a handyman, subject to such unspeakable torment in high school that she dropped out, Martha works at the local dry cleaner's. The routine gives temporary order to the chaos that is her life. So comforting is the hiss of the steam machine pressing a shirt collar and the swish of clear plastic bags hanging in sequence, she often shows up on her day off.

Morris performs one of the most difficult writing tasks, creating a character crazy enough to be interesting but sane enough to describe her own dilemma. Like a child narrator, Martha looks wide-eyed and unblinking at the world around her and sees too much: every blade of grass as it springs back after a footstep; the 248 steps from her driveway to the bus; that bad people lie routinely and get away with it. But unlike a child, she has full-bodied yearnings for friends and lovers, which she knows will never be satisfied. One summer evening she looks across the park at couples on blankets listening to a band concert. "How did they get there, she wondered, the old yearning like a hawk at her ribs. How did they manage to know what clothes to wear, what conversations to have...? That invisible rudders steered them through waters as un navigable for her by daylight as by night?"

Whenever she is struck by the realization that she will never belong, which is often, she loses her breath and thumps her chest for air. Often, complete strangers come up and pummel her back, asking if she is all right. "All right?" Martha asks herself. "How could anyone be all right whose existence was fueled by this terrible, self-consuming energy, this frenzy of

fear and anger, a crippling power, driving her...?"

Rescue looks intermittently possible by her Aunt Frances, who has all the coping mechanisms Martha lacks, and by Wesley Mount, the town mortician, another outsider. While he always knows the right thing to say in death, he hovers too closely and whispers too intensely for the living. He has scared off other women with too many flowers and Hallmark cards, and so he proceeds cautiously with Martha, making small talk when he drops off his laundry. When she remembers that he takes his



Morris at home outside Boston

People sane enough to know they're crazy.

shirts with heavy starch and folded, he is filled with hope.

Martha loses her job and her connection to her co-worker Birdy when she runs after a customer to tell him that the manager has not cleaned his suit, only prespoiled it, and accuses Birdy's boyfriend of taking \$20 out of the cash register. She phones Birdy incessantly to win her back but only succeeds in driving her friend farther away.

Like Martha, Wesley seems doomed to the kind of lovelessness he sees in the faces of those he buries: "There was a tearless distance to the eyes, and at the mouth an unripe tautness, the flesh so toneless its touch repelled him. It was, if such a thing were possible, a deathless death." With language simple and vivid, and detail so telling we can hear Wesley folding his grocery bags into thin squares and stuffing them into his pockets, Morris has shown us that those who live outside the magic circle of friendship and family have a rich inner life like the rest of us, only much sadder and unforgettable.

—By Margaret Carlson

Roach Trap

GETTING USED TO DYING

by Zhang Xianliang

Translated by Martha Avery

HarperCollins; 291 pages; \$19.95

Beginnings are delicate times, and a novel can rise or fall on the strength of its first sentence. Zhang Xianliang begins his with these astonishing words: "It is no longer clear to me when I began to want to kill him." Zhang then reveals the narrator's intentions to be suicidal rather than murderous. "I" and "he" are identical, split apart only by having to survive—for want of a better verb—the unending political upheavals of communist China.

Though ungrammatical, the better verb could well be, as Zhang's title implies, "to die." Each period of chaos, from the anti-rightist movement of the '50s to the Great Cultural Revolution of the '60s and '70s, required that the Chinese get used to living as though they were dead. Recalling tenures at labor camps, Zhang's schizophrenic main character says, "Death became second nature to him, but he lacked the strength or tenacity to die. It was at times like this that I had to help him."

That is, help him accept that death without the peace of oblivion is China's lot. The manifestations of that horror are myriad, and Zhang, whose 1985 novel *Hall of Man Is Woman* shocked the People's Republic with its explicit—by Chinese standards—discussion of sex, details them with bitter black humor. Lined up for execution, the main character sees his condemned colleagues fall dead in a hail of bullets. Only he and a young girl remain alive, spared by blanks and cynical commissars. Nearly dead from starvation, he is hauled into a makeshift morgue and buried in a pile of corpses.

The nightmares are intensified as they are interlarded with stream-of-consciousness musings on sex, travels to the U.S. and Europe, a taste of freedom. Despite his forays into the liberal West, returning to China is inevitable for Zhang's semiautobiographical character. Out of China for too long, he says, the Chinese often act insane.

An old Taoist adage tells of a sage who dreamed he was a butterfly and then awoke to find himself wondering who was doing the dreaming. Might he not be the butterfly imagining it was a philosopher? Zhang has reproduced that pretty reverie, combining it with Kafka's *Metamorphosis* and shading it with *The Fly*. The question is now threefold: Is the narrator a person dreaming he is a cockroach or a cockroach dreaming it is a contemporary citizen of the People's Republic, or is there no difference between them at all?

—By Howard G. Chua-Eoan

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Heresy or Homage in Barcelona?

A chorus of protests greets plans to complete an unfinished basilica started by a Spanish genius

By MARGOT HORNBLOWER BARCELONA

"The Sagrada Familia is... the reflection of the soul of the people. Woe the day that it is halted!"

—Catalan poet Joan Maragall

"It would be a betrayal to even think of finishing the Sagrada Familia... without genius. Let it remain there, like a huge rotting tooth."

—Catalan painter Salvador Dalí

Sensual, spiritual, whimsical, exuberant—few buildings so symbolize a city as Barcelona's unfinished Sagrada Família: the Expiatory Temple of the Holy Family. Architect Antoni Gaudí's masterpiece dominates the skyline of Catalonia's capital, attracting 700,000 visitors a year. Its art nouveau stonework, its mosaic-encrusted bell towers and its warped geometry brilliantly mock the banality of much modern architecture.

But how can an interrupted work of imagination be completed decades after its creator is gone? In the years since Gaudí's death in 1926, such admirers as architects Le Corbusier and Walter Gropius and artists Joan Miró and Antoni Tàpies have demanded a halt to construction, which has been under way in fits and starts since 1882. Continuing to work on the building, contends architect Josep Anton Acebillo, is "like adding arms to the *Venus de Milo*." Nonetheless, the building continues to be financed privately—and enthusiastically—by contributors ranging from Catalan nationalists to Japanese businessmen to American tourists.

As Barcelona seeks international celebrity in playing host to the 1992 Summer Olympics, the smoldering controversy over the Sagrada Família has flared anew. Last summer 200 Barcelona artists and intellectuals issued statements deriding new sculptures for the church by Catalan artist Josep Maria Subirachs as "boorish" and "kitsch." Protesters circled the church in a candlelight procession. Religious objections have also arisen: traditionalists are holding monthly prayer sessions, inveighing against the stark nudity of Subirachs' Christ.

Subirachs' austere, squared-off style is the antithesis of Gaudí's ornamented surrealism. "My work has nothing to do with Gaudí's," says the sculptor, 63. Although

Gaudí left a 1911 sketch of the Passion façade, Subirachs changed the arrangement of the sculptures and added controversial touches like a macabre skull below the crucifix. He gave his Roman centurions helmets playfully copied from Gaudí-designed chimney pots on a nearby building.



The Sagrada Família, top, and its disputed new sculptures
Says a critic: It's "like adding arms to the *Venus de Milo*."

Subirachs denounces his critics as "hooligans, snobs." Ironically, Subirachs in 1965 signed a letter protesting the basilica's continuation. But when offered the sculptural commission, he changed his mind "because I was given complete freedom."

The quarrel is entwined in Catalan politics. A symbol of the Catholic right, the church was sacked by anarchists in 1936, during Spain's civil war. Gaudí's drawings and plaster models went up in flames, but molds and photographs survived. Architect Jordi Bonet, who supervises the construction budget, says the opponents are "people who don't want a church as the emblem of our city." Moreover, Subirachs has publicly scorned the abstract artists favored by city hall in its Olympic building binge—and the disdain is mutual. Says poet Joan Brossa: "Gaudí was avant-garde, but Subirachs is retro-garde."

On the side of completion, however, was Gaudí himself, who told his biographer, "All particularly grandiose churches have taken centuries to complete." Devoutly religious, the aged architect begged for alms when contributions dwindled. Gaudí deliberately sketched only an outline of the final façade. Citing St. Peter's in Rome and cathedrals in Cologne and Reims, he said, "Another generation will collaborate, as is always the case with cathedrals that have façades not only by several authors but also in various styles."

Architectural education is also a factor. "Gaudí invented a new system of architecture," says Catalan professor Joan Bassegoda. "Instead of the geometry of rectangles and circles, he took his structures from nature, studying what forms allow trees and humans to grow and stay upright." Hyperbolas, parabolas, helices and helicoids, the curving, open-ended forms Gaudí used, were calculated so precisely that computers have shown his measurements to be perfect. Today computer-driven diamond saws are cutting Gaudí-designed inclined columns to support the nave, replacing Gothic architecture's flying buttresses. "We're still learning from Gaudí's genius," says Bassegoda.

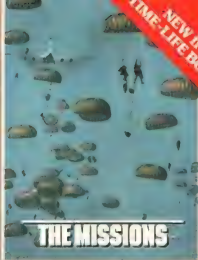
With Olympic-era Barcelona featuring such sleek modernist architects as Richard Meier and Arata Isozaki, the Sagrada Família, now 40% complete, may be maligned by some as an old-fashioned ugly duckling. But its admirers have faith that it will yet grow into a swan. Eventually, its central spire will climax in a gold cross reaching at least 170 meters toward the sky, making it Europe's tallest church. At the current construction rate, that will not happen until the 21st century. But as Gaudí once said, pointing heavenward, "My client isn't in any hurry."



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O Give Them a Home

In the lands where the buffalo roam, cattlemen clash with protesters over slaughtering Yellowstone's wanderers

By NANCY GIBBS

Among their inalienable, God-given, federally guaranteed rights, Montana cattlemen claim the privilege of grazing their herds on public lands from June through October, while they grow hay for winter feed on their own spreads. Thus is born each year a battle between ranchers, environmentalists and state officials over how to manage the wild animals that roam out of Yellowstone Park, deplete the forage and interfere with the cattle grazing on the surrounding public lands. Last week the battle raged in the courts, as animal-rights activists lost—at least for now—a fight to block another season of slaughter of the very symbol of the U.S. Department of the Interior: the American bison.

Each winter bison, elk and other wildlife wander out of the park in search of food, and each winter they risk being shot on sight. Since 1985 the killings have been sanctioned by state officials under pressure from ranchers to protect the local cattle industry that relies on the public lands around the park. The huge, shaggy bison not only can damage fences; about half the Yellowstone herd is also thought to carry brucellosis, an infectious disease that can cause cows to abort their calves. Montana cattle have been certified brucellosis-free since 1983, but ranchers fear that if the sick bison infect their herds, the result could be quarantine, slaughter and economic ruin.

But the policy of hunting down the stray bison has been a public relations disaster. Of the park's 2,700 bison, 700 were killed by last spring, and an additional 11 have been slain this winter. The hunt is hardly sporting, protesters claim, since the Yellowstone bison have been conditioned not to view humans as enemies. "These animals are used to the click of the camera, not the crack of the rifle," argued Wayne Pacelle, national director of the Fund for Animals, in an editorial in *USA Today*. "When the hunters approach, the animals don't flee. They merely stare at their bloodthirsty executioners." Last year three anti-hunting protesters were arrested and charged with attacking hunters and game wardens with cross-country ski poles.

Such tactics have raised the hackles of Montanans, who do not take kindly to outside interference by what Ron Marlenee, a Republican U.S. Representative, calls "Eastern tinhorn snake-oil salesmen." Marlenee has introduced legislation in Congress that would prohibit interference with the bison hunters on public land. A similar bill



Bison in the park: in winter they stray outside into hunters' sights

failed to pass during the last session.

On the other side, the Fund for Animals filed suit in federal court seeking an injunction against the hunt. The protesters contended that there was no proof that Yellowstone bison are a danger to livestock. The strain of brucellosis found in bison may not be virulent enough to pose a significant risk to domestic cattle. "They're making policy without data," charges biologist and bison researcher Jay Kirkpatrick. Says Pacelle: "If people want to graze cattle on the Yellowstone ecosystem, they need to assume some limited risk."

Last week a U.S. district judge in Montana rejected such arguments and denied the request by the Fund for Animals to stop the bison hunt. Citing the threat that brucellosis infection will spread to cattle, Judge Charles Lovell maintained that "hunting is a time-honored avocation and a legitimate and recognized method of

animal control." The Fund for Animals promptly filed an appeal.

Jim Peterson, executive vice president of the Montana Stockgrowers Association, points out that a state regulation requires animals infected with brucellosis to be quarantined and slaughtered. "We have to move quickly and sensibly to disarm a potential time bomb," he wrote in a published statement. "No one likes the thought of killing buffalo, but rarely has the control of disease been pleasant."

Many ranchers feel that the threat from contaminated wildlife is a government problem but complain that federal policy

has just made matters worse. They argue that Yellowstone's herds of elk and bison are overpopulating and overgrazing the park's ranges and forage base and that park managers are doing nothing to control the problem—all in the name of natural management. "The National Park Service is causing damage by letting nature take its course," charges rancher Pete Story. "Only through management by man can the park be kept in a natural state. Our fear is not nature; it's what government does about it."

The goal for both sides should be a flexible plan designed to keep wildlife and livestock herds apart. One recommendation calls for restricting cattle grazing on public lands during the high-risk months, closing some public grazing lands altogether and creating a livestock-free zone around the park. There are also humane, if artificial, ways of controlling the herds, such as using cattle dogs to keep the bison in the park. Cattlemen oppose a plan to re-

introduce wolves to the Yellowstone ecosystem to help restore a natural predator for the bison on the ground that the wolves would soon be preying on cattle herds.

State representative Bob Rancy plans to introduce a bill in the Montana legislature that would suspend bison-hunting licenses until a joint state-federal study on the problem is completed. "My problem at this point," says Rancy, "is that we're killing off American bison without knowing if there is an alternative to killing them. I know what we've done up to this point is not proper." Especially considering that the victims are direct descendants of the 20 bison that originally sought refuge in the park and thereby survived the 19th century slaughter that all but eliminated the species from North America.

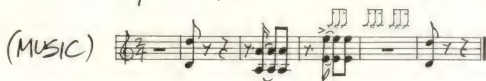
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America's Vainest Museum

Armand Hammer's tribute to himself raises a furor

By ROBERT HUGHES

Medieval France, a cleric boasted, was covered with a "white mantle" of churches. So is America, with museums. Nobody can say for sure which museum is the worst. But now we know which is the vainest. It opened in Los Angeles last November. It is the Armand Hammer Museum of Art and Cultural Center. It cost

between the U.S. and the Soviet Union on the corporate jet, arranging "cultural exchanges" that were more show than tell. Somehow one could not forget, when viewing the eclectic arrays he promoted as "treasures of the Soviet Union," how in the '30s he and his brother Victor had astutely brought a freighter load of furniture and bibelots from Russian flea markets and hotel lobbies and sold it as "the Romanov treasure."

tor of old masters and Impressionists, which he flew around the world as promotion for Oxy and himself. Hammer's proudest feat was his 1980 purchase, for \$5.12 million (a big price then), of a manuscript by Leonardo da Vinci called the Codex Leicester, which he renamed the Codex Hammer. It consists of 36 pages of notes on water movement. There is not a single drawing of aesthetic interest among the meager diagrams in the margins.

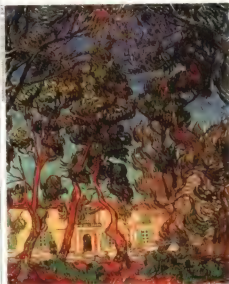
Hammer wooed, and was wooed by, the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, which made him a trustee in the hope of getting his collection. And indeed, some of it (though not much) was worth having.

Hammer had one museum-quality Van Gogh, a writhing, energetic view of the madhouse garden at St.-Rémy, along with fine to fair works by Sargent, Eakins, Gustave Moreau and Chardin. When LACMA was offered, by collector George Longstreet, a collection of good works by Honoré Daumier, the great French social satirist, Hammer insisted on buying them all pre-emptively, on the promise that he would give them to the museum. LACMA believed this.

For 17 years, Hammer continued to announce—in interviews, in print and in letters to the museum's board of trustees—that LACMA would inherit his whole collection. It got nothing. For as Hammer's belief in his genius as a collector swelled over the years, so did his demands, which became so unreasonable that LACMA rejected them. Hammer

rewrote his will, picked up his marbles, Daumier and all, and walked. Now, Hammer announced, he would make his gift to the world in the form of his own museum.

The building—a striped marble lump by Edward Larrabee Barnes, which looks like a consulate in some Middle Eastern emirate—cost \$60 million; the endowment fund is \$38 million, a large but, for its purposes, insufficient amount. It is a tribute to his gall that Hammer managed to get Oxy to pay out such sums, when he owned less than 1% of Oxy stock, on the questionable ground that the museum would pump up the company's prestige. Oxy shareholders are suing for waste of corporate assets. The niece of Hammer's wife Frances, who died in 1989, is also suing on the ground that the collection, having been jointly acquired with her aunt's money, should have been half hers and does not belong to the museum at all.



A MISHMASH OF A COLLECTION

The Hammer holdings include a few fine works like Van Gogh's *Hospital at Saint-Rémy*, left, but most are inferior efforts by famous names, like Rembrandt's *flat, gross Juno*. One is left with the impression that Hammer had no eye at all.

nearly \$100 million—paid for, to their now deep resentment, by the shareholders of Occidental Petroleum Corp., whose chairman Dr. Hammer was.

In life, which he departed in December at the age of 92, Hammer was a textbook case of *furor Americaneus*: a bullying blowhard with an ego like a Mack truck, whose main aim was to parlay a genius for negotiation (which he had) into a Nobel Peace Prize (which, luckily for the prestige of that award, he never got). His career as humanitarian and Macenas was loud, insubstantial and based on hype, although he did do some good thing for the National Gallery in Washington by giving it a major collection of old masters drawings, many bought with the advice of his own experts.

As chairman of Occidental—an ailing oil company he took over in 1957 and turned into a going concern throughout the 1960s and '70s—Hammer circulated tirelessly be-

But the illusion worked for a while. It gave the impression that there was no trade agreement or casing of the cold war for which he was not, in some way, responsible. And to make sure that none of his dealings with bigwigs remained unrecorded, Hammer, or rather, his company, Oxy, maintained a film company, Hammer Productions, whose partial purpose was to film and tape the Flying Doctor wherever he went. Alas, the team could not follow him to his last destination. One would give much for a videotape of Hammer attempting to glad-hand St. Peter or seizing the elbow of Beelzebub, as he had so often grabbed Ronald Reagan's in the hope of a presidential pardon for Hammer's conviction for making illegal contributions to Richard Nixon's 1972 re-election campaign.

Nowhere was Hammer's rage for fame more obtrusive than in his role as a collec-

Before his death, Hammer claimed the collection was worth \$450 million, but most of it is junk: a mishmash of second- or third-rate work by famous names. The Rembrandt *Juno* is one of his weakest paintings—large, flat and gross. The Rubens *Adoration of the Shepherds* may not be by Rubens at all; the Titian, not by Titian. The Leonardo pages, installed in a sort of dim mortuary chapel of their own, look ridiculously anticlimactic. The Impressionist work is as dull as could be. And, except for the Van Gogh and one early Gauguin, so is the more modern material. Only the Daumier holdings have any depth. One is left with the impression that Hammer had no eye at all, no feeling for art; that he bought like a bad shot firing into the middle of a flock of birds and, except for a few chance pellets, missing them all. Perhaps what he really liked was sentimental kitsch (of which he bought a great deal).



Rage for fame: Hammer with his acquisitions.

What will happen to this curious institution? Until the lawsuits finish, it is hard to say. When one thinks of the financial problems that beset the few really great small museums founded on a single person's taste—the Frick in New York City or the Phillips Collection in Washington—the idea of wasting \$98 million on this trivial package seems obscene. The Hammer Museum cannot evolve into a serious collection. It would have difficulty making a mark as a site of temporary shows, since there is too much competition from other Los Angeles museums. Perhaps, as one critic suggested, the place could be converted into the Armand Hammer Memorial Multiplex Cinema. Or perhaps it should be left as it is, a warning to egotistical collectors who think they can achieve immortality by setting up their own museums. A monument, in short, to the vanity of vanity. ■

Music

Yo-Yo Ma's Crazy Adventure

The cellist triumphs over the Bach suites—and more

When Pablo Casals first began performing Bach's six dense, slow-moving *Suites for Unaccompanied Cello* back at the turn of the century, just one of them on a given program was considered a heavy burden for any audience to bear. As late as 1960, the suites were used in Jules Dassin's *Never on Sunday* to torture Melina Mercouri until she could escape to the more congenial sounds of the bouzouki. But when Yo-Yo Ma started playing them at age five, his father taught him that Bach would assuage fear, loneliness, hunger: "He told me always to play a movement of Bach before going to bed."

Ma learned well. Last week a sellout audience crowded Manhattan's Carnegie Hall at the odd hour of 5 p.m. to hear the 35-year-old Ma play not one but all six Bach suites in a row, in a 4½-hr. marathon interrupted by a one-hour dinner break and two intermissions. It is not an unheard-of feat, but it is a decidedly rare one. Paul Tortelier, for one, performed all six in London; Jerry Grossman, co-principal cellist in the Metropolitan Opera Orchestra, played them in Manhattan just a week before Ma. But for the miraculous Ma to undertake this project was something special.

He strenuously prepared himself during the preceding week by playing several of the suites at concerts in Montclair, N.J., Washington, Ann Arbor, Mich., and Boston. When such a warm-up works, he says, "you are so into the music that you don't control it anymore. You are led by it." The day before the concert, Ma relaxed at home in Winchester, Mass., and took his

daughter to a birthday party. After flying to New York, he spent the preconcert hours in stretching exercises and deep breathing (which he repeated during intermissions). He ate almost nothing. "Eating makes you tired, and I was trying to be focused." All



Receiving bravos at Carnegie Hall

"To a very quiet place within yourself."

his preparations were designed "to build enough mental as well as physical stamina." Says Ma: "I am trying to remind myself what I am doing. I am playing the music not to show off or prove anything. I want to share something of what the music means."

Music speaks its own language, of course, which in this case is the language of dance—allemandes, sarabands, gigues and so on. All these dances have implications partly sensual, partly religious. Says Ma: "Bach takes you to a very quiet place within yourself, to the inner core, a place where you are calm and at peace." But when Ma played the suites in Carnegie Hall, the main effect was one of pure beauty. Ma does not have a big, grasping Slavic tone like Rostropovich or Piatigorsky, but his slighter, sweeter sound was exquisite. After the fourth suite, Ma thanked his listeners "for joining in this crazy musical adventure" and dedicated the fifth suite to peace. Then came bravos and, at the end, a standing ovation.

After eating a granola bar in his dressing room, Ma went out to celebrate. A couple of parties later, he returned to the Manhattan apartment of his in-laws, who had gone home earlier—and found that he had forgotten his keys. Not wanting to disturb anyone, and still in his evening clothes, he stoically stretched out in the hall and went to sleep: a touring virtuoso who gives 90 concerts a year can cope with almost anything. At 5:30 a.m., a deliveryman tossed the morning papers across Ma's recumbent body. Only an hour later did his dismayed father-in-law discover him, just in time for a little breakfast before an 8 a.m. appointment with representatives of Sony Classical records. But as his father taught him, the best antidote to fear, loneliness and hunger is Bach.

—By Otto Friedrich, Reported by Nancy Newman/New York

How the War Can Change America

In the great debate leading up to the gulf war, the real issue was whether this fight was about Kuwait or about Iraq. For those who opposed the war, it was about Kuwait—and restoring the Emir to his throne, as many Senators argued, is not exactly the stuff that moral crusades are made of. For those prepared to risk war, the real issue at stake was Iraq. It was not that one small innocent country had been violated but that one large criminal country was on the march and had to be stopped.

That is how the issue looked until Jan. 16. But war is an exercise in surprise, and the real surprise of this one may be that it was not about Kuwait, not about Iraq, not even about the future of the Middle East, however much all of these will be shaped by the outcome. It may turn out to have been a war about America.

Except for revolution, nothing changes a country more than war. Indeed, the very definition of a people often revolves around a reference to war. We speak of the antebellum South, prewar Germany, post-Vietnam America. If the war in the gulf ends the way it began—with a dazzling display of American technological superiority, individual grit and, most unexpectedly for Saddam, national resolve—we will no longer speak of post-Vietnam America. A new, post-gulf America will emerge, its self-image, sense of history, even its political discourse transformed.

The most extreme example of such a transformative war is the Six-Day War. It changed Israel from a weak, marginal refuge for refugees, clinging to the shores of the Mediterranean, to the very symbol of self-reliance, power and valor. (An image subsequently transformed, of course, by ensuing violent upheavals, namely the Yom Kippur War, Lebanon and the *intifadeh*.) It is too early to assume that America will enjoy a similar triumph in the gulf war. But if this war should conclude half as decisively as the Six-Day War, America will not be the same.

The cliché that generals are always fighting the last war is far less true than the notion that a nation is always reliving it. Great wars define the psyche and sensibilities of a people for decades—until the next one rewrites memories and reshapes character. The legacy of World War I defined the Western peoples for 20 years. The sense of order, optimism and patriotism that marked the Edwardian age died in the trenches of Verdun. In their place arose the pacifism, the nihilism, the psychic cubism of the '20s and '30s.

These were in turn overturned by World War II, which, in America in particular, produced a hunger for normalcy in domestic life and a self-confident sense of mission (captured by J.F.K.'s "We shall bear any burden" Inaugural Address) in international life. The long twilight struggle of the cold war could have been sustained only by a people that had lived through World War II.

Then came Vietnam. The residue of World War II was Bretton Woods, NATO, the free world. All that is left of Vietnam is the Vietnam Memorial. The confidence in America's right and trust in America's power that were the legacy of World War II collapsed in the face of ambiguity and defeat in

Vietnam. Vietnam became a metaphor for futility, a symptom of the corrosion and corruption of the American dream. The notion of American decline, prefigured in Jimmy Carter's idea of national limits, could exist only in a people still demoralized by defeat in Vietnam.

Vietnam was not just a feeling. It became an argument. It became the touchstone of every subsequent national debate: Lebanon, Panama and, most recently, the gulf. The subtext of every debate became, Is this or is this not another Vietnam? Indeed, in order to take the country with him into the gulf, President Bush had to promise explicitly that "this will not be another Vietnam." If the gulf war turns out well, such assurances will no longer be necessary. Vietnam will be retired as the defining American experience of this age.

What is at stake in the gulf war is the Vietnam legacy, whether it should be seen as a historical aberration or the historical norm. In Vietnam, was America defeated by a constellation of contingencies, or was character destiny? Did it succumb to an unfavorable local topography (that neutralized American technological superiority), a misapprehension of the enemy and an undermining cultural revolution at home? Or did it succumb to itself, to overweening ambition and moral blindness, to a refusal to acknowledge its own mortality and limits?

For 20 years this debate has been replayed endlessly, often in microcosm. Take the most recent gulf debate about America's forte, air power. In Congress one heard time and again that air power cannot win wars: Vietnam proved that. Did it, or did it prove that air power cannot win wars in dense jungle against irregular units on bicycles? In the next such debate about the adequacy of air power, the "lessons of the gulf" will be the new reference point.

The larger question, of course, is the adequacy—moral, material and martial—of America. A month ago, conventional wisdom had the U.S. being overtaken as a great power by Japan. Perhaps. But is making a superior Walkman a better index of technological sophistication than making laser bombs that enter hangars through the front door? Is a nation's ability to make VCRs a better index of power than the ability to defeat aggression?

A post-gulf America might see its economic problems in perspective: not as a metaphor for corruption and decline, not as an indictment of a society's health and vitality, not as a crisis of the soul but simply as economic problems—a product of mistaken policies and misaligned resources. A post-gulf America might even see itself in perspective: as the planet's dominant power, afflicted with problems but able nonetheless, by prodigious acts of will, to turn history.

Of course, if the war turns out badly, this new American self-image will turn into a desert mirage. And a historic opportunity for the self-transformation of America will have been missed. Even if the war does turn out well, the postwar euphoria will eventually fade too. But it will leave something behind: a renewed America, self-confident and assured. That was the legacy of the last good war, World War II, a legacy lost in the jungles of Vietnam. ■



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